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THE CANADIAN OFFER OF TROOPS FOR HONG KONG, 1894*

GUY R. MACLEAN

THE story of Canadian participation in the Sudan campaign of 1884-5 and the South African war is well known, but another surprising offer of troops for service abroad by the Canadian Government in 1894 never became public. It was a curious incident in the history of Imperial relations, and an interesting illustration of the workings of cabinet government under Sir John Thompson.

The real decisions were made in London, but the key figures behind the offer in Canada were Major-General I. J. C. Herbert and the Hon. J. C. Patterson, Minister of Militia and Defence. Patterson was not a strong minister and seems to have been overly susceptible to advice from his military adviser. Born and educated in Ireland, Patterson had come out to Canada in 1857. After teaching school for a number of years, he was called to the bar and practised law in Windsor, Ontario. He served in the Assembly of Ontario for four years, and then became a member of Parliament in 1878. He was a member of the Abbott, Thompson, and Bowell cabinets between 1891 and 1895, serving as Secretary of State, Minister of Militia and Defence, and Minister without Portfolio. In 1895 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, an office he occupied until 1900 when he retired. The improvements made in the defence system of Canada during the early nineties were due more to the work of General Herbert than the influence of Patterson as Militia and Defence Minister, his department being noted as a source of patronage rather than for its constructive plans for defence.

Herbert succeeded Middleton in 1891 as General Officer Commanding the Canadian military forces. It was with his arrival that "the first stirrings of reform began."¹ He enlarged the headquarters staff and made improvements in the district commands. The Permanent Force was reorganized and the regimental system adopted. The cavalry schools were amalgamated to form the Canadian Dragoons, later the Royal Canadian Dragoons. In 1893 the four companies of the infantry school were converted into the Royal Regiment of

*This article is a by-product of research done with the assistance of a grant from the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center.
III, 159).

¹G. F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954* (Toronto, 1954), 265.

Canadian Infantry which eventually became the Royal Canadian Regiment. Artillery units were reorganized and enlarged at the same time. In the same year a small group of officers and men were sent over to England for special instruction. With the militia Herbert was less successful. Rules were laid down that no militia officers should be promoted without qualification, and that the establishment be produced annually in Parliament in order to give the militia publicity. Obsolete equipment was replaced by newer weapons. It is an interesting comment on the country's attitude towards defence that in order to pay for the rifles the government had to cancel militia camps for one year: they could not have both rifles and camps in the same year.

Herbert was not only commander of the Canadian forces and therefore concerned with the efficiency of his troops; he was also a British officer concerned with Imperial defence. In May, 1894, he submitted to the War Office in London a memorandum on the interchange of colonial and Imperial troops, a memorandum which concerned itself both with national and Imperial military interests.² Herbert first considered the problem of military training in Canada in its broader aspects. He pointed out that the presence of Imperial troops in the Dominion had helped to develop a military spirit in the population. These troops had furnished the training staffs for all ranks of the militia, and when they had been withdrawn, the Canadian militia had been left without any efficient system of training, without instructors, and without the example of properly drilled units. The natural result had been the steady deterioration of the militia force. The Permanent Force of Canada, he continued, had been raised to remedy this state of things, but it had had only limited success. The chief weakness had continued to be political corruption in the militia, which had resulted in lowering it in the public estimate. The central command and over-all administrative organization had been ineffective.

Herbert believed that the maintenance of a regular force in Canada was a sound policy, but that it would not be an efficient force until it had been properly trained. His solution to the problem of training was that Canadian Permanent Force units should be interchangeable with similar British units, that is to say, a Canadian unit should be stationed at Aldershot for a few years, while a British

²Major General J. J. C. Herbert, "Interchange of Units between Great Britain and Canada," Ottawa, May 10, 1894, *Report of a Conference between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Premiers of the Self-governing Colonies, 1897*, Confidential, No. 111, Appendix VIII, Memorandum by the Colonial Defence Committee, Enclosure 1, 194-5 (P.A.C.).

unit should be posted to Kingston for the same period. The Canadian troops would become a part of the Imperial army while they were in Britain.

Herbert could see a number of advantages, both military and political, which would follow the adoption of such a principle. The contact with the British troops would render the Canadians more efficient, since they would present models of correctness in organization and drill. The Canadian public would look with new pride on its Permanent Force if it were considered good enough to be a part of the army in the United Kingdom. Politically, the adoption of such a scheme, he said, would be a living symbol of Imperial solidarity. It would encourage closer personal knowledge of the colony and the mother country. Many of the British soldiers, Herbert was sure, would wish to remain and settle down in Canada when their tour of duty was completed. He also noted that it was axiomatic that British capital followed British troops. The problem of Imperial defence, he concluded, had been too long discussed in an academic way and on the basis of fiscal systems. His, he thought, was a practical approach to the problem.

Apparently no action was taken on Herbert's report at the time it was submitted to the War Office, but six months later, in the fall of 1894, Herbert himself saw an opportunity to implement the scheme. On October 10, 1894, the Colonial Office was startled to receive a completely unsolicited offer of a contingent of Canadian Permanent Force troops for service abroad as part of the Imperial Army. In a telegram the Dominion Government stated its intention to offer the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry to the Imperial Government for service in Hong Kong in the event that foreign garrisons were increased.⁸ The Canadian Government wished to know the terms under which such an offer would be accepted by the War Office. It is quite clear that the Imperial Government had not made any request for troops and that the telegram came as a complete surprise.

Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London, also received a telegram from the Minister of Militia asking him to call at the Colonial Office and press for action on the matter. Tupper accordingly did so, and suggested to the British officials that apart from considerations of real need, the transport of Canadian troops to

⁸The telegram stated: "Dominion Government desires to offer services of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry to the Imperial Government in the event of circumstances necessitating increase of Garrisons. Please ascertain from War Office the terms under which such an offer would be accepted." (Deputy Governor of Canada to the Marquess of Ripon, 10 October 1894, *Public Record Office, London*, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 360, microfilm copy, P.A.C.).

Hong Kong would be a valuable object-lesson to the world at large as an indication of Imperial solidarity and the efficiency of the Pacific route for military purposes. Tupper was thinking of the Canadian Pacific Railway's interests and wanted to prove that their steamship service was useful for defence. The defence argument had been used to get British subsidies. Tupper stressed that the troops to be sent were regular troops, and not volunteers, but he did not expect that there would be any general objection to their employment.

There were three questions to be considered by the Colonial, Foreign, and War Offices in consultation. Firstly, should the offer be accepted? If not, should it be made public? And thirdly, should there be a general understanding between the Imperial and Canadian Governments in the future regarding such offers? Rosebery, the Prime Minister, agreed with the Colonial Office's first reaction, that there was absolutely no need to accept the offer for the present, and accordingly a polite telegram was dispatched several days later expressing gratitude, but stating that the need for Canadian troops had happily not arisen.⁴

On the second and third questions, whether to make the Canadian offer public, and whether to discuss in general such offers with a view to an agreement with a colonial government, there was not so much unanimity. The Colonial Office sent copies of the Canadian telegram to the Foreign and War Offices, as well as to Lord Rosebery. A real difference of opinion developed between the Colonial Office and the War Office. Sir Robert Meade, the permanent head of the Colonial Office,⁵ thought that the offer should be given as much publicity as possible. He told Ripon, the Colonial Secretary, that the Imperial Government should "not fail to gush over this."⁶ He suggested that a dispatch be specially written and published to disclose that the Canadian Government had offered to send regular troops to the East. Such a publication, continued Meade, would demonstrate that united action could be depended on whenever the

⁴Lord Rosebery, Minute, Oct. 14, 1894, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 364.

⁵Sir Robert Henry Meade (1835-98); educated at Eton and Oxford; second son of Third Earl of Clanwilliam; entered Foreign Office in 1859; private secretary to Earl Granville (1864-6); assistant Under-Secretary of State in Colonial Office (1871); Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Colonies (1892-6); served under Lords Knutsford and Ripon, and Joseph Chamberlain. "He was one of a knot of official liberals who formed a little coterie in the service of the crown from about 1870 to 1890." (*Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement* (London 1901), vol. III, 159).

⁶Sir Robert Meade to Lord Ripon, Oct. 28, 1894, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 367.

interests of the Empire required it. He thought moreover that the War Office should immediately enter into conversations with Ottawa on the details of a scheme for similar offers in the future. Ripon agreed with both of Meade's suggestions.

Campbell-Bannerman, Secretary of State of War, threw cold water on Meade's proposals, informing the Colonial Office that he and his associates in the War Office had additional information about the Canadian offer which, if known to Ripon and Meade, would discourage any further action on the initial offer. In a note to Ripon on November 5,⁷ Campbell-Bannerman informed the Colonial Secretary that it had been wholly the work of General Herbert who had propounded the larger scheme of exchanging troops the previous spring; he had inspired the idea of the recent offer and drafted the message, which subsequently had been sent improperly and without due formality by the Minister of Militia, being made regular by an *ex post facto* Order-in-Council. The Secretary of War concluded that these circumstances took away from the incident "much of that air of spontaneous patriotism that might at first sight be seen in it," and that it would be a mistake to make too much of the offer. He did not think that a discussion of terms by the Liberal Government on such future offers was advisable, although the Colonial Defence Committee might take such a matter under consideration.

Campbell-Bannerman's unenthusiastic response might have been expected, aside from any irregularities in Ottawa regarding the offer of troops, in view of his past record in military affairs. Before he became Prime Minister, he had been chiefly associated with the army and navy, with the exception of a short time spent as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He was Financial Secretary to the War Office, and Secretary to the Admiralty, before becoming Secretary for War in two administrations. He was a member of the Royal Commission on military administration which in 1890 recommended that an Imperial General Staff be created, to be free of all executive functions and to occupy itself in peace with the preparation of plans for military operations in the event of war. It would be concerned with the defence of the Empire as a whole. Such general staffs had, of course, been adopted by most of the major powers in Europe. Although Campbell-Bannerman had signed the report he had disagreed with this particular point upon which he wrote a long memorandum. He disagreed with the analogy between Great Britain and the other powers of Europe. There was nothing for a general staff

⁷H. Campbell-Bannerman to Lord Ripon, Nov. 5, 1894, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 371-2.

to do in Britain, but there was a danger that they would make something to do. He distrusted any "body of officers, however able and distinguished, who sit apart and cogitate upon the subject."⁸ Obviously, General Herbert's activities in Ottawa would have been suspect in the eyes of Campbell-Bannerman, as unwarranted interference by the military in what was essentially a political affair.

The Colonial Secretary was also economy-minded, being a great admirer of Cardwell who had done much as Secretary for War in 1871 to reduce military expenditures and improve the army's fighting efficiency. One of the Cardwellian principles was to balance the number of troops abroad with those at home. When Campbell-Bannerman came into office in 1892 there were more troops overseas than in Britain, so to have strengthened eastern garrisons with Canadian troops was quite unnecessary, since he hoped to reduce substantially the numbers in those garrisons.⁹ He was proud of having cut the army budget below that of the navy, and the Canadian proposal would have meant simply added expense to his department.

Neither Rosebery, nor Sir Robert Meade were impressed by Campbell-Bannerman's objections at first, for they had heard nothing of the intrigues to which he had referred. Meade, with Rosebery's complete agreement, advised Lord Ripon that whatever the foundation of the offer, it was still useful. For a civil servant he used a curiously political argument for publicizing the offer: "The argument taken on political platforms that the Liberal party is as strong for the unity of the Empire as the opposition is still viewed with some suspicion and unless we gush a little we shall be accused of not meaning what we say."¹⁰ Meade doubted Campbell-Bannerman's hints of an intrigue because Tupper had backed up the offer in London and Tupper, he said, was rumoured to be no friend of Herbert's. Meade summed up: "My advice is to treat the offer as a genuine one whatever may be its real character and to make as much use of it as possible vis a vis of foreign powers." The Colonial Office staff accordingly began to formulate conditions regarding pay, transportation costs, and discipline, but the work was abruptly terminated when the War Office finally sent along to them the full report submitted by General Herbert when the original offer was made in early October.¹¹

⁸J. A. Spender, *The Life of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, G.C.B. (2 vols., London, 1923), I, 119.

⁹*Ibid.*, 125, 126.

¹⁰Meade to Ripon, Nov. 20, 1894, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 373.

¹¹General Herbert to General Chapman, Oct. 12, 1894, C.O. 42, vol. 824, 359 ff.

Herbert's description of how the offer to send troops to the East was made is an extraordinary comment on the Thompson administration. Herbert had apparently read in the newspapers that there was a possibility that the Hong Kong garrison would be strengthened by some additional British troops. He went to see Patterson and suggested that the Dominion Government should offer the services of the Royal Regiment, as concrete implementation of his scheme for the interchange of troops, a scheme which had been before the Cabinet for some months. He laid particular stress upon the importance that Canada would achieve in the eyes of the world, if a completely equipped Canadian force could be promptly transferred to the Orient. Patterson took up the idea warmly and promised to put it before his colleagues the following day. The next day Herbert called at the Privy Council office at five o'clock and was informed by Patterson that his suggestion had been approved. Patterson asked Herbert to draft a telegram to be sent to the High Commissioner in London. Herbert drafted the telegram, but insisted that it should go through the regular channel of communication, the Governor-General, and that it be sent in cipher. Patterson went back into the Council Chamber and then came back saying there was wisdom in the General's counsel, and requesting a copy of the telegram. Herbert promised to arrange for the sending of a cipher message through the Governor-General's office. As he explained blandly to his British superiors, he simply did not trust Patterson's honesty. Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, was not in Ottawa at the time, so matters were arranged through the Deputy Governor.

The following day Herbert learned that telegrams had been sent to the Colonial Office and to Tupper, and that neither had gone in cipher. They had not been sent on the order of the Cabinet but by the personal order of Patterson. The Governor-General's secretary immediately contacted Thompson and explained what had been done. The secretary said that Thompson had two courses to follow: either he could cancel the offer, or he could ratify it. Thompson, while protesting that Patterson's action had been unconstitutional, agreed to confirm the telegram by Order-in-Council.

The actual contingent contemplated by Herbert would have consisted of five hundred men, all regulars and most with several years' experience. Four more companies would be raised in Canada to take the place of those sent overseas. Herbert thought that the experience would be beneficial for the Canadian troops. He had no delusions about Imperial patriotism in Canada, feeling that the offer had been made in order, as, he said, to "boom Canada." He

thought that Patterson's unusual course was prompted by the belief that the offer would not be accepted by the Imperial Government and would be a useful advertisement for the Dominion.

Apparently once the offer had been made, the Canadians sat back and hoped it would not be accepted. When it was not accepted, they simply allowed the whole matter to drop. Luckily for them, Campbell-Bannerman in the Cabinet was strong enough to prevent publication of the offer.

The War Office was irritated by Herbert's presumption in the affair, for he had gone ahead without any previous consultation with his own Imperial authorities just as Patterson had acted without the prior agreement of the Cabinet. In any case, the War Office had no desire, in the words of one officer, "to see four companies of Canadians pitched upon it." Desirous as Meade was to do something about the Canadian offer, the Colonial Office, for its part, decided to do nothing more, especially in view of the fact that the Canadian Government did not appear to be anxious to carry on further negotiations. There does not seem to be any record of an Order-in-Council on the subject.

Patterson's behaviour in this affair appears to be hardly excusable or explicable. Nor does Thompson's control over his Cabinet appear to have been strong, especially when it is noted that he seemed ready to ratify such a serious action by an *ex post facto* Order-in-Council. The whole policy was quite contrary to the principle for which Sir John A. Macdonald had fought in 1884-5 during the Sudan crisis. The Canadians who went to Egypt at that time were volunteers and were recruited in Canada by agents of the Imperial Government. Sir Charles Tupper had subsequently urged that an official force be sent over. Similarly in 1894, he expressly pointed out to the Colonial Office that the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry was a regular unit, and was not composed of volunteers. Had the offer in 1894 been accepted, or even been made public by the Imperial Government (and only Campbell-Bannerman's objections seem to have prevented this latter course), there would have been an interesting precedent to consider at the time of the South African war. It is interesting moreover to speculate on what would have happened had Joseph Chamberlain been Colonial Secretary and had Campbell-Bannerman not been Secretary for War in 1894.

Herbert was not particularly well rewarded for his efforts in Canada. Patterson and Lord Aberdeen both recommended him strongly for a knighthood on his departure from Canada but the recommendation was ignored despite the fact that his predecessors

had customarily been so honoured.¹² Patterson himself was luckier, as his appointment as Minister without Portfolio in March, 1895, and later as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, indicate.

In 1897 Herbert's original plan for an interchange of troops came up for consideration at the Colonial Conference in London. Chamberlain hoped it would be the first instalment of imperial federation. The principle was agreed to by the Colonial prime ministers, including Laurier, who promised to discuss it with his colleagues in Ottawa. There was no reference by Chamberlain at that time to the earlier Canadian offer along the same lines, and, of course, the plan was once again relegated to the limbo of forgotten things when the South African crisis put more serious military demands upon the Canadian Government.

¹²Lord Ripon to Lord Aberdeen, June 4, 1895, C.O. 42, vol. 829, 372.

CRIMINAL EXTRADITION MENACES THE CANADIAN HAVEN FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES, 1841-1861

ROMAN J. ZORN

AFTER the War of 1812 fugitive slaves increasingly followed the North Star route beyond the Great Lakes, and by the 1820's the slave-holders of the upper South were determined to put an end to the Canadian haven for runaway chattels. Kentuckians and Virginians urged the federal government to arrange a treaty that would permit recovery of the refugees, but American diplomacy failed to accomplish this objective. Indeed, in 1827, Britain categorically refused to "depart from the principle recognized by the British courts that every man is free who reaches British soil." Again in 1828 Southern Congressmen insisted upon the reopening of negotiations; but by the end of the year, Henry Clay, the Secretary of State, reported that Britain still opposed the return of the fugitive slaves in Canada.¹

In the 1830's, realizing that diplomatic overtures were ineffective, the most persistent slave-holders explored other methods of recovering the refugee slaves. Occasionally slave-hunters travelled to Canada, and there they attempted to seize Negroes and to return them forcibly to slavery in the United States. But kidnapping activities flagrantly violated Canadian laws, and provincial authorities protected the fugitives against the slave-hunters. Thus kidnapping techniques did not prove successful.² Meanwhile, other slave-holders, seeking to operate within the law, tested the possibilities of extraditing runaway slaves to face criminal charges before Southern courts. A statute of Upper Canada, enacted in February, 1833, provided for the surrender of fugitive criminals from foreign countries. Under this act Kentuckians initiated three extradition requests for the surrender of fugitive slaves. Nevertheless, due to legal technicalities or to the escape of the accused, the slave-holders failed to secure custody of these Negro refugees.³ Since the early precedents testing criminal extradition proved inconclusive, the ultimate determination of the extradition method was delayed for several decades.

¹*Annals of Congress* (Washington, D.C.), Sixteenth Congress, Second Session, 1820-1, I, 94; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Md.), Dec. 27, 1828.

²William R. Riddell, *The Slave in Canada* (Washington, D.C., 1920), 80-2.

³For brief synopses of the cases involving Thornton Blackburn in 1833, Solomon Mosely in 1837, and Jesse Happy also in 1837, see *ibid.*, 83-91.

Nevertheless, by the end of the 1830's, Southern concern over fugitive slave problems had become acute. Just when the rapid expansion of the Cotton Kingdom was increasing Southern dependence upon slave labour, militant anti-slavery societies had emerged in the Northern states. Abolition propaganda encouraged Southern slaves to follow the North Star route to liberty, and by the early 1840's abolitionists publicly rejoiced that "escapes from the house of bondage . . . are now a thousand a year. . . ." By 1842, moreover, approximately 12,000 ex-slaves were living in Canada. Not only did these fugitives represent financial loss to their erstwhile masters, but every successful escape encouraged restiveness in the slave population.⁵ Confronted with blatant claims that the "abolitionist knows no more grateful employment than carrying the dog and rifle-hunted slave to Canada," slave-holders grew fiercely determined to safeguard their valuable chattels.⁶ Thus Southerners were anxious to eliminate the Canadian terminus of the Underground Railroad, and they hoped that recapture of even a few refugees would discourage other potential runaways. In 1842, when the Nelson Hacket incident demonstrated that criminal extradition could recover a slave, the South came very near success in these matters.

The Nelson Hacket incident concerned the escape of a slave belonging to Alfred Wallace, a merchant of Fayetteville, Arkansas. Making careful preparations for the long journey to Canada, Hacket first purloined a beaver overcoat, a gold watch, and a comfortable saddle. In mid-July of 1841 the slave stole Wallace's fastest horse, and after six weeks of hard riding he reached a coloured refugee settlement at Chatham, Canada West. By early September, however, Alfred Wallace had followed Hacket to the British colony. The Arkansan first filed an affidavit describing the thefts committed by his slave, and next he located the runaway in the village of Chatham. Then, with the help of the county sheriff, Hacket was compelled to

⁵"Address of the Peterboro State Convention to the Slaves and Its Vindication" (Cazenovia, N.Y., 1842), 9. This declaration, written by Gerrit Smith, was adopted by the New York State Anti-Slavery Society.

⁶See estimates of the Canadian fugitive slave population in Judge William Jay to Joseph Sturge, Jan. 6, 1842, in *The Nonconformist* (London, England), Feb. 9, 1842, and in the testimony by the Rev. Hiram Wilson, of the central corresponding committee for the colored residents of Upper Canada, in *The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* (London, England), June 21, 1843.

⁷"Address of the Peterboro State Convention to the Slaves," 10. Lewis Tappan observed that "the pro-slavery part of the people are greatly excited" by the Peterboro Address. Letter to John Scoble, July 23, 1842, in A. H. Abel and F. J. Klingberg, eds., *A Sidelight on Anglo-American Relations, Furnished by the Correspondence of Lewis Tappan and Others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* (Lancaster, Pa., 1927), 100.

yield the stolen property and submit to arrest. Since the prisoner admitted that he was guilty of larceny, the local magistrates remanded Hacket to jail pending the winter assizes.

The slave-holder, however, was primarily interested in regaining the custody of his slave. After consultations with Detroit lawyers about the problem of extradition, Wallace enlisted the aid of the Governor of Michigan. In mid-September, on the basis of depositions concerning Hacket's thefts, the State of Michigan requested the surrender of the Negro as a fugitive criminal. But this manoeuvre met unexpected opposition, for the Canadian Attorney General noted that the accused had never been indicted by a court of law, and that Arkansas, the state of original jurisdiction, had not requested his surrender. Due to these legal technicalities, the Canadian government refused to comply with the Michigan requisition. But Alfred Wallace was a persistent man, and he returned to Arkansas to initiate criminal charges against Nelson Hacket. On November 26, the Washington County Grand Jury indicted the Negro for grand larceny, and four days later Governor Archibald Yell formally requested the Canadian authorities to deliver Hacket for trial by the Arkansas courts. This application reached Canada in December, and the provincial Executive Council then reviewed the testimony and procedures in the Hacket case. Concluding that there was evidence warranting a criminal trial, the Council recommended that extradition be approved. On January 17, 1842, the Governor-General ordered the refugee to be surrendered, and by June Nelson Hacket had been returned to Washington County, Arkansas. Then, without being tried by any judicial tribunal, the extradited slave was restored to his master.⁷

This was the first instance in which criminal extradition had retrieved a fugitive slave from Canada, and abolitionists soon perceived the menace of this precedent. Anti-slavery editors publicized the "nefarious proceedings" in the Hacket case, and they expressed alarm and indignation at the Canadian decision. Since Southerners could now exploit indictment for theft as a device to recover run-

⁷For the best contemporary accounts of the Nelson Hacket incident, see *The Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer* (Peoria, Ill.), May 27, 1842; and C. H. Stewart, "Case of Nelson Hackett," *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (New York, N.Y.), Sept. 1, 1842. These articles were widely reprinted in abolitionist journals.

The official documents relating to the incident were published by both the British and Canadian governments. See Great Britain, House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, Serial 495, XXVIII (1842), 133-43; Province of Canada, *Sessional Papers*, First Parliament, Second Session, II (1842), Appendix S, n.p.

See also Joshua Leavitt to John Scoble, Dec. 27, 1842, in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 108-9; *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York, N.Y.), Dec. 29, 1842.

away slaves, the abolitionists warned that the security of all refugee Negroes in Canada had now been jeopardized.⁸ Moreover, in May of 1842, the American Anti-Slavery Society called the attention of British abolitionists to the Arkansas extradition incident. Urging the importance of safeguarding the Canadian sanctuary for slaves, they entreated British vigilance "to preclude the possibility of such another mistake."⁹ Early in June the leaders of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society discussed the Nelson Hacket precedent, and their Executive Committee then brought the issue to the attention of Lord Aberdeen, Britain's Foreign Minister. The official organ of the society also expressed alarm at the "extraordinary conduct" of the Governor of Canada, and it reprinted American accounts and criticism of the extradition case. Declaring that "prompt and very serious notice must be taken of this matter," the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* suggested that Parliament ought to require the Ministry to submit all official documents connected with the Hacket case.¹⁰

Anti-slavery partisans soon injected the Hacket incident into political debates on both sides of the Atlantic. In the British Parliament, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, was required to explain the Government's attitude toward the surrender of fugitive slaves. The pertinent official papers were requested by the House of Commons, and submission of these documents led to sharp criticism of the extradition precedent.¹¹ In Canada members of the provincial Parliament also made inquiries and protests. Denouncing the surrender of the refugee slave as immoral and unconstitutional, these legislators insisted that it was not the liberty of one man only but rather of thousands that was at stake. Though Government spokesmen cited the authority of the extradition statute of 1833, the Assembly nevertheless requested the Governor-General to submit all documents relating to the Hacket case. In valedictory, disgruntled critics

⁸*The Liberator* (Boston, Mass.), April 15, June 17, July 1, 1842; *The Friend of Man* (Utica, N.Y.), June 24, 1842; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, June 30, Sept. 1, Oct. 20, 1842; *Emancipator and Free American* (Boston, Mass.), Sept. 15, 1842; *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* (New York, N.Y.), Sept. 1, 1842.

⁹The Executive Committee of the Society was directed to transmit these resolutions to the British Foreign Minister and to British abolitionists. See "Proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Its Ninth Anniversary, May 10-11, 1842," in *Liberator*, May 27, 1842. On May 16, the Executive Committee also sent inquiries to the Governor-General of Canada. See *Anti-Slavery Standard*, Aug. 4, Sept. 1, 1842.

¹⁰*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, June 15, 29, July 13, Sept. 1, 21, 1842; "Minute Book," Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, I, 543, cited in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹¹See Great Britain, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, LXIV, 640-1; *Journal of the House of Commons*, Session of 1842, XCVII, 438, 530, 534; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, June 29, 1842.

warned that criminal extradition must not become a method for legal abduction of the slaves who had claimed sanctuary on Canadian soil.¹²

Abolitionist anxiety became even greater, however, after publication of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Since Article 10 of the treaty provided for mutual surrender of fugitive criminals by the United States and Canada, the Arkansas extradition precedent had become even more important. Early in September a delegation of American abolitionists called the Hacket case to the attention of Lord Ashburton, and sought assurances that the Treaty would not buttress Southern efforts to reclaim the Canadian refugees. The British envoy replied that the rendition of fugitive slaves had not been stipulated, and that Britain would not tolerate abuse of the extradition provision.¹³ These conciliatory words, however, were not adequate. In England the venerable Thomas Clarkson publicly warned "that the slave owners, encouraged by the case of Nelson Hackett [*sic*], . . . will pester our government in Canada with *thousands* of applications . . .," and Captain Charles Stuart denounced the tenth Article as "a pledge . . . to make ourselves runaway slave-catchers for the United States."¹⁴ Alleging that Southerners were adopting "systematic measures" to recover slaves by indicting them as felons, American abolitionists insisted that the return of even one refugee under the Treaty would serve as an example deterring further escapes to Canada. It was necessary, they asserted, that Canadian authorities "be expressly instructed to give up no colored man to slave states on any pretext whatever."¹⁵ In response to the protests echoing from both sides of the Atlantic, British anti-slavery editors demanded the most strenuous efforts to avert the menace inherent in Article 10.¹⁶

British abolitionists lost no time in bringing pressure upon key governmental officials. As soon as Lord Ashburton returned to England, he was requested to explain the implications of Article 10 for the slaves who escaped to Canada. Replying that he had kept the

¹²*The Toronto Herald*, Oct. 17, 1842; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Feb. 22, 1843; Province of Canada, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, First Parliament, Second Session, II (1842), 57, 80, 103-4.

¹³Accounts of the interview arranged by the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society appeared in *The Journal of Commerce* (New York, N.Y.), Sept. 8, 1842, *Liberator*, Sept. 16, 1842, and *Niles' Register*, Sept. 24, 1842.

¹⁴Thomas Clarkson to John Beaumont, Oct. 24, 1842; Charles Stuart to [?], n.d. *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 1842.

¹⁵Joshua Leavitt to John Scoble, Dec. 27, 1842, in *ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1843. See also *Emancipator*, Dec. 8, 1842.

¹⁶*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, Oct. 19, 1842.

protection of these refugees "anxiously in mind," Ashburton observed that acts necessarily related to flight from bondage could not be dealt with as crimes. Though deprecating the potential menace to the Canadian haven, he pledged efforts to ensure that the Treaty would not operate to the disadvantage of fugitives.¹⁷ The abolitionists also invoked the aid of the Earl of Aberdeen. They penned eloquent memorials which described how Article 10 imperilled the Negro refugees, and they also sent a delegation to confer with the Foreign Minister. Aberdeen explained that fugitive slaves could not be exempted from extradition without abrogating Article 10, but he promised that their security would be carefully safeguarded.¹⁸ Then, in view of the importance of local administration, the abolitionists also conferred with Sir Charles Metcalfe. The new Governor-General of Canada proved sympathetic, and he gave assurances that the slave's right to asylum in Canada would be preserved.¹⁹

Moreover, since legislation was necessary to place Article 10 in operation, the abolitionists attempted to influence Parliament. Their official organ unceasingly proclaimed that the extradition clause would be exploited by "unprincipled slaveholders," and it urged "the friends of freedom" to intercede with the legislators.²⁰ Simultaneously their national society published resolutions which demanded safeguards against the surrender of slaves, and it also sponsored petitions to bring these stipulations before the House of Lords and the House of Commons.²¹ Finally, in June of 1843, abolitionist leaders mounted the public platform to appeal to Britain's conscience to prevent the government from engaging in slave-catching.²² Since the majority of Britons held long established antislavery sympathies, the agitation against the "infamous Article 10" generated widespread interest.

When the House of Lords began consideration of a measure to enforce the extradition clause, Lord Aberdeen carefully expounded the Ministry's position. Emphasizing the general desirability of

¹⁷See John Scoble to Lord Ashburton, Oct. 29, Nov. 10, 1842; Ashburton to Scoble, Nov. 4, 1842; Thomas Clarkson to Ashburton, Feb. 11, 1843; Ashburton to Clarkson, Feb. 11, 21, March 17, 1843. This correspondence is published in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 32-33, 113-4.

¹⁸*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, March 8, 1843. See also Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 121-5.

¹⁹*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, March 8, 1843.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1842, Feb. 22, March 8, 22, April 5, 1843.

²¹*Ibid.*, March 8, 1843. See also "Minute Book," Executive Committee of British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Feb. 25, 1843, II, 50-7, cited in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 126-7.

²²*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, June 14, 21, 28, 1843.

Anglo-American criminal extradition, he gave assurances that the surrender of fugitive slaves would be carefully scrutinized. No criminal would be surrendered except upon the request of the federal government, he stated, and no fugitive would be surrendered prior to referral of his case to the Imperial authorities. Moreover, if abuses of extradition should arise, he noted that Britain could unilaterally abrogate Article 10. Even the abolitionist spokesman, Lord Brougham, expressed gratification, and the chamber quickly approved the enforcement statute.²³

In the House of Commons, however, there was spirited debate. Veteran abolitionists soon claimed the floor, and they argued aggressively for exclusion of fugitive slaves from extradition legislation. To a motion embodying this stipulation, the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Pollock, replied that it was impossible to exempt slaves without vitiating Article 10. But there would be mitigating factors, he continued, because the Law Officers of the Crown would not permit the liberty of fugitive slaves to be imperilled without just cause. Indeed, in allusions to crimes related to escapes from bondage, he affirmed that such acts would not constitute grounds for extradition. In a similar vein, Lord Stanley, the Colonial Minister, offered further assurances that provincial officials would follow the most liberal interpretation of British law in maintaining protection for ex-slaves. These conciliatory pledges enabled the Ministry to uphold Article 10. The amendment to exempt slaves was defeated by a vote of 59 to 25, and thereafter the enforcement statute was ratified.²⁴

Though disappointed at the parliamentary decision to enforce Article 10, the abolitionists did not abandon their efforts to protect the refugee slaves. Maintaining that the extradition law offered "an enormous bounty to perjury and forgery" by slave-holders, they urged the Ministry to maintain the greatest vigilance concerning all requisitions for ex-slaves. Specifically, they requested that the documents in these cases be available in England.²⁵ The Government readily acquiesced, and the colonial governors were ordered to transmit all extradition records. Moreover, in order to implement

²³"Parliamentary Intelligence, House of Lords, June 30, 1843," in *ibid.*, July 12, 1843.

²⁴*Hansard*, LXXI, 564-79; "Parliamentary Intelligence, House of Commons, Aug. 11, 1843," in *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Aug. 23, 1843.

²⁵See the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's memorial to the Earl of Aberdeen, Oct. 11, 1843, and George Canning to J. H. Hinton, Oct. 27, 1843, both in *ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1843. See also "Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," May 17, 1844, in *ibid.*, May 29, 1844.

the pledges made to Parliament, the Colonial Office sent detailed instructions about extradition procedures to the provincial administrators.²⁶ These measures indicated that Britain would follow the narrowest view of her obligations under Article 10 and that slaveholders would face difficulty in recovering their chattels from the British colonies.

Before the end of 1843, however, the British Government faced a test of its newly defined policies. In October seven slaves escaped from Florida to Nassau, and the United States promptly requested their extradition on the basis of criminal charges. Even though the crime of murder was involved in the flight from bondage, the Governor of the Bahama Islands refused to surrender the Negroes. News of the American demands reached England in December, and the House of Commons thereupon required the submission of the pertinent documents.²⁷ Since these papers revealed that the colonial authorities had exploited technicalities to defend the refugee slaves, the abolitionists felt that the crisis created by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty had been surmounted. Now that an auspicious precedent existed for the Bahamas, there was every reason to assume that the Canadian asylum for slaves would be equally safe. "The excitement, the debates, the doings in Parliament," an American observer concluded, "have done so much to awaken public attention, that the slaveholders will not be likely to make application in that quarter. . . ."²⁸ By May, 1844, even the pessimistic Thomas Clarkson was convinced that the menace of Article 10 had been removed. This "prodigious gain to our cause," he commented, had "restored the security of the 12,000 ex-slaves living in Canada."²⁹

In the United States, however, Southern spokesmen denounced Britain's refusal to surrender slave criminals. Indeed, Senator Thomas Hart Benton proposed that Congress recommend termination of the extradition agreement; and in the House of Representatives, Florida's David Levy likewise urged the abrogation of Article 10. Moreover, under the prodding of Southern leaders, the Senate

²⁶See copy of a "circular dispatch" from Lord Stanley to the governors of Her Majesty's colonial possessions, Nov. 21, 1843, in House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, Document 64, XXXIX (1844), 299.

²⁷*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Dec. 13, 27, 1843, Jan. 10, Feb. 21, April 17, 1844. See also House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, XXXIX (1844), 297-306.

²⁸Joshua Leavitt to [John Scoble?], Feb. 2, 1844, in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 175-6.

²⁹Thomas Clarkson to Joseph Sturge, May 14, 1844, in *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, May 29, 1844.

requested that the Secretary of State supply information on Britain's noncompliance with extradition requests. This situation led to diplomatic negotiations, but the Earl of Aberdeen refused to make concessions for the benefit of slave-holders. Though Senator John C. Calhoun criticized the inadequacy of federal intervention, such Southern protests did not continue after 1845.³⁰

In the next years Southerners increasingly stressed efforts to recover slaves who had fled into the Northern states, and in 1850 Congress yielded to this pressure and enacted a more stringent fugitive slave law. Soon the protests and complaints of American abolitionists echoed across the Atlantic, and by December the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had become apprehensive about the security of the refugee slaves in Canada. Warning that slave-hunters might again attempt legal abduction of these fugitives, the society urged Lord Palmerston to ensure that Canadian officials would not return these Negroes to slavery on the basis of criminal indictments.³¹ A stiffened British policy proved unnecessary, however, for Southerners did not seek to extradite refugee slaves during the next ten years. It was not until 1861, when the State of Missouri applied for the surrender of John Anderson, that the Canadian sanctuary was again challenged by the technique of criminal extradition.

The John Anderson incident involved a Missouri slave who fled to Canada in 1853. Soon after his sale and transfer to a new master, the Negro decided to escape. First he set out to visit his wife and child, but he was recognized and questioned by Seneca T. P. Digges. The white man attempted to seize the runaway, and during the pursuit the fugitive killed him. Then the slave followed the North Star route across Illinois and Michigan, and he arrived in Upper Canada in December of 1853. For the next six years Anderson lived quietly and peacefully in the British colony. Not until 1860, however, did he tell the full story of his escape. Then, after a local magistrate had verified the Digges murder, the refugee was arrested and remanded to jail. By September a Missouri court had indicted Anderson for the murder, and on October 2 the federal government requested his extradition as a fugitive from justice. Britain's Foreign Secretary ruled that Anderson should be surrendered if the indictment appeared valid according to Canadian law. The Anderson case was taken before

³⁰See *The Congressional Globe* (Washington, D.C.), Twenty-Eighth Congress, First Session, 142-4, 246-9; *Emancipator*, Feb. 16, 1844; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, March 20, 1844, April 2, 1845.

³¹The text of the memorial addressed to Lord Palmerston is reprinted in Abel and Klingberg, *op. cit.*, 264-7.

the provincial Court of Queen's Bench, and the judges decided that the refugee must be yielded for trial by the Missouri courts.³²

The news that Canada would surrender a fugitive slave to Missouri alarmed abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. Decrying this precedent as a menace to the more than 40,000 Negroes now enjoying freedom in Canada, they immediately urged that Britain must intervene to reverse the decision. Not only did British abolitionists file protests with the Colonial Minister, but they took steps to ensure that the legal issues would be reviewed by a British court. Applying to the Court of Queen's Bench in London, their lawyers procured a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of Anderson. Before Anderson could be brought to England for a rehearing of his case, however, the refugee attained his liberty. In January of 1861, while the extradition proceedings were delayed on orders from the Colonial Minister, the Anderson case was given a rehearing by the Canadian Court of Common Pleas. Acting upon an application for habeas corpus, this tribunal decided that the warrants for the arrest and imprisonment of the refugee were invalid. On the basis of procedural technicalities, therefore, John Anderson was discharged from custody. No further efforts were made to return the Negro to Missouri, and the United States did not renew its extradition request.³³

The repercussions of the Anderson case, however, went beyond its antislavery aspects. Canadian officials promptly noted that a major constitutional issue had been created by the intervention of a British court in a legal matter already—and properly—within the cognizance of a provincial court. "The issuance of this writ of *habeas corpus* by one of the courts of England into Canada is . . . a matter of the greatest importance," declared the Attorney General for Upper Canada, "It is justly considered here as directly affecting the independence [*sic*] of our Courts and our people. . . . In the case

³²For the best contemporary accounts of the John Anderson incident, see the *Toronto Globe*, Nov. 16, 26, 1860, Jan. 19, Feb. 2, 1861; *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 29, Dec. 1, 21, 22, 1860; *The Times*, Jan. 16, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, Feb. 2, 1861; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Jan. 1, April 1, 1860.

The official documents relating to the incident were published by the Canadian, British, and United States governments. See Great Britain, House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers*, Serial 2813, LXIV (1861), 293-346; Province of Canada, *Sessional Papers*, Sixth Parliament, Fourth Session, IV (1861), Document 22, n.p.; *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States*, Thirty-Sixth Congress, Second Session, Document 11, Serial 1082.

³³*New York Tribune*, Dec. 8, 22, 1860; *Toronto Globe*, Jan. 15, Feb. 16, 1861; *Liberator*, Dec. 31, 1860; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, Feb. 2, 28, March 2, 1861; *The Morning Star and Dial* (London, Eng.), Jan. 3, 1861; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Jan. 1, March 1, April 1, 1861.

of Anderson, the Writ . . . [was] sued out from praiseworthy motives, but it may hereafter be applied for . . . [in] the delay or prevention of the punishment of crime, for the withdrawal of Criminals from the control and jurisdiction of our Courts, and perhaps for the oppressive removal of individuals from their own Country to a distant one."³⁴ Since an equally serious view of this problem was taken by the provincial Executive Council, the Governor-General urged the Imperial government to abrogate the power of English courts "to issue the writ of Habeas Corpus or any other writ or process running into this Country, save such as may be connected with the right of appeal to Her Majesty in her Privy Council."³⁵ The British Ministry accepted this advice, and Parliament soon enacted an appropriate statute. Thereby the jurisdictional issue disclosed by the Anderson litigation was resolved.³⁶

After 1861 there were no more attempts to recover fugitive slaves from Canada. Not only had the Anderson case demonstrated the futility of the extradition method, but the impact of the American Civil War ended the emigration of slaves to the British colony. In the *ante bellum* period, however, the Canadian haven for slaves had constituted a major problem for American slave-holders. In 1842 the Nelson Hacket incident revealed a method for recapturing refugee slaves, but abolitionist vigilance checkmated the potential Southern use of criminal extradition. It was abolitionist agitation that induced Britain to exclude slaves from extradition under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, and thus the security of the Canadian haven for refugee slaves was restored.

³⁴John A. Macdonald to Sir Edmund Head, Feb. 26, 1861, in *Canadian Sessional Papers*, IV, 24-5.

³⁵Sir Edmund Head to the Duke of Newcastle, March 7, 1861, in *ibid.*, IV, 23.

³⁶*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, March 1, May 1, 1862.

THE POLITICAL TESTAMENT OF PAPINEAU IN EXILE, 1837

RONALD F. HOWELL

ON December 18, 1837, a few days after Louis-Joseph Papineau, under indictment for high treason, had crossed the Canadian frontier into exile in Albany, New York, he addressed a lengthy letter to George Bancroft, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Bancroft, one of the earliest Americans with a self-confessed commitment to history as a profession, was on December 30 of that year to be appointed Collector of the Port of Boston by President Martin Van Buren. This appointment marked the continuation of a political career that was subsequently to be distinguished when Bancroft, elevated to the Secretaryship of the Navy in the Cabinet of President James K. Polk, helped to found the United States Naval Academy, and afterwards served as American Minister first to the Court of St. James and later to Berlin. His voluminous historical writings are still of interest, and his prodigious transcriptions of early American documents, lodged in the Bancroft Collection of the New York Public Library, are invaluable to scholars in American history.

Several months before the letter was posted, and apparently in the turbulent days of the autumn revolutionary assemblies, Papineau had been in contact with Bancroft in Montreal. Papineau was undoubtedly aware of a pronounced democratic bias in Bancroft's publications, analogous to his own creed in its insistence upon liberty, republicanism, national self-determination, and the right of revolution. He further knew of Bancroft's subscription to the political ideas of Andrew Jackson, a modification of the legacy of Jefferson and the American Revolution and a reinforcement of Canadian claims in the 1830's, and to their embodiment in the tamer political practices of Bancroft's good friend Van Buren.

Earlier in 1837, and by more direct communication, Papineau had tried without avail to obtain Van Buren's support for the cause of Canadian independence, on the 1776 appeal of "taxation without representation." Van Buren's reply, whatever his personal sympathies, was that the United States, then confronted with an acute financial depression, would necessarily maintain the strictest neutrality. Bancroft's biographers offer no record of his willingness either to try to persuade Van Buren to adopt another course or to grant Papineau's more modest request of encouraging an American

loan for the rebels. The following letter, however—assembled not among the Papineau papers but resting in isolation in the Massachusetts Historical Society—indicates not simply his expedient interest in an American loan and a possible voyage to France, but stands more significantly as an eloquent statement of his earliest reflections, when in exile, upon the Canadian situation.¹

Papineau
Très privé et confidentiel

ALBANY 18 Décembre 1837

MON CHER MONSIEUR

L'attachement sincère que vous et moi avons, pour ces principes de pure démocratie, qui pour le bonheur de l'humanité ont triomphé et sont en pleine et efficace opération dans les Etats Unis, m'enhardit à vous prier de faire valoir tous les moyens qui sont à votre portée pour les faire aussi prévaloir dans les deux Canadas. Lorsque j'eus l'honneur de vous voir, il n'y a que peu de mois à Montréal, j'étais loin de prévoir que dans un avenir aussi prochain, mes concitoyens en grand nombre et moi, serions les objets presque les victimes d'une aussi violente et injuste persécution de la part de l'immoral gouvernement Anglais, que celle que nous éprouvons. Les apparences sont contre nous; Elles nous exposent à la censure publique; Nous avons l'air d'être une troupe de ténébreux et d'imprudens conspirateurs, de fugitifs déjà disperses et punis, pour avoir comploté contre une gouvernement trop puissant, pour qu'il eut jamais rien à craindre de nos efforts. Les apparences sont fausses et trompeuses.

La ruse et la violence combinées; la politique de 1798 contre l'Irlande, de pousser le peuple prématurément à une résistance où il devait succomber, ont surpris et maîtrisent temporairement des antagonistes politiques, qui sont voués à une destruction certaine, ou à un long exil, s'ils ne renversent pas l'injuste domination des oppresseurs de leur malheureux pays.

Je veux vous exposer la simple vérité. Depuis le premier de mai il y eu dans toute l'étendue du Canada de fréquentes & nombreuses assemblées du peuple, pour dénoncer les mesures oppressives adoptées par le Ministère Britannique. Dès la première de ces Assemblées un plan de résistance légale et de désorganisation constitutionnelle de l'administration actuelle du Canada, avait été adopté. C'était pour payer les officiers coloniaux que le Parlement Impérial envahissait notre revenu. Nos combinaisons pour repousser cette violation du mieux établir de nos droits, si nous en avions aucuns que les principes pussent protéger contre l'usurpation s'appuyant brutalement sur la force, étaient de tarir la source de ce revenu, sans violer directement la loi. Pour y parvenir nous avons donné l'exemple, et formé des associations que promettaient de cesser de faire usage de vins, de boissons spiritueuses, de thés, sucres, et tabacs qui sont des articles d'importation les plus fortement taxés, de favoriser la conservation et l'augmentation des bêtes à laine, en renonçant à l'usage de la chaire d'agneaux, et en nous habillant avec les étoffes fabriqués en Canada, ou importées des Etats Unis, sans avoir arrêté à nos douanes; et enfin de nous constituer une organisation judiciaire elective, distinct & séparée du celle que nous donnaient de vicieuses institutions vicieusement administrées, et à cette fin de recommander au peuple de choisir dans chaque paroisse durant le cours du mois actuel de Décembre des conciliateurs,

¹The letter is here reproduced in its original, unedited form.

devant lesquels, par voie d'arbitrage, les patriotes iraien [sic] porter leurs plaintes, s'obligeant sur leur honneur à ne plus à l'avenir les porter à grands frais devant les tribunaux ordinaires. Ces recommandations étaient universellement bien accueillies par le peuple. Les hommes influens renvoyaient en faute les commissions qu'ils avaient précédemment reçues des Gouverneurs, se montraient prêts à exercer la nouvelle juridiction volontaire, que l'élection et la confiance de leurs concitoyens allaient leur conférer. Le revenu s'anéantissait; le gouvernement était profondément irrité, mais il n'avait pas le moyen y de sevir (qui) contre ceux qui conseillaient ces mesures, qui n'ont aucun caractère d'illégalité mais qui ravissaient à un gouvernement mal constitué toute influence morale, et sans secousse préparaient sa chute. Ne pouvant plus défendre leurs malversations s'ils se renfermaient dans l'exercice légal de leurs attributions, les hommes en pouvoir n'ont hésité à franchir ces limites.

La dernière Assemblée de Comté eut lieu à St. Charles le 23 8bre. Elle n'était ni plus ni moins repréhensible que tant d'autres ouvertement convoquées de toutes parts depuis six mois sur tous les points de la Province. Une circonstance triviale, un accident fortuit et en soi de nulle importance a fourni un prétexte au Gouvernement de s'abandonner à sa soif effrénée de domination arbitraire, à ses désirs de vengeance. Les Citoyens qui avaient convoqué cette Assemblée m'avaient invité à y assister, & y avais accédé. Quelques uns d'eux, je ne sais qui, le gouvernement le sait encor moins, s'avisèrent d'élever une colonne avec l'inscription trop complimantaire de, et Papineau ses concitoyens reconnaissans. Cette colonne était surmontée d'une mûre portant un bonnet. Quelques feuilles ont dit que c'était un arbre de la liberté. Les Avocats de la Couronne trois semaines plus tard, après grave et mure délibération, ont décidé; qu'enfin les patriotes s'étaient compromis et perdus, que des discours et des résolutions quoique blamables n'auraient pas suffi pour les faire condamner, mais cet arbre de la liberté était un *overt act* de trahison, un fait indicatif de leur détermination de s'affranchir. Cette conclusion était si inepte et illogique, que dans tout autre pays il serait convenable de la mépriser, et de subir un injuste procès. En Canada il n'en est pas ainsi. Le pouvoir judiciaire y est si mercénaire, asservi, corrompu et partisan dans tous les cas de procès politique, que l'adoption d'une opinion si folle, mettait ceux qui l'avaient avouée, dans la nécessité de la faire confirmer par le verdict d'un jury et la sentence de Juges, et ils sont les maîtres d'avoir toujours tels verdicts et telles sentences que bon leur semble. Ils n'ont aucune loi qui règle les qualifications et sommation des Jurés. Nulle autorité constituée qui en donne des listes au Shériff. Dans le secret de son bureau il fait sa liste, il y porte qu'il veut, il en exclut qui il veut. Il est sans surveillans & sans contradicteurs. Il est nommé par le Gouverneur par une commission révocable *ad nutum*, qui le met ordinairement pour sa vie en possession d'une charge, qui serait raisonnablement payée par des salaires de mille à douze cents piastres, et qui lui en donne quatorze à quinze mille par an. Voudriez vous sous de telles circonstances subir un procès en Canada, si les officiers de la couronne avaient déclaré, que quelques uns de vos propos avaient une odeur de Haute trahison.

A leur avis tout ce qui s'était dit et fait à St. Charles avait cette mauvaise odeur. Le secret de cette infâme opinion transpira quelques heures avant que tout ceux qui y avaient joué un rôle marquant, fussent arrêtés. Les officiers de l'Assemblée, Présidens, Vice Présidens, secrétaires, moteurs de propositions et leurs secondeurs, résidaient pour la plupart dans les villages voisins à St. Denis, St Charles, & St Marc. Six mille electeurs et plus y avaient pris part,

sans soupçonner qu'ils avaient été si grandement coupables. Quand ils surent que leurs chefs devaient être enlevés pour ce prétendu délit, ils se portèrent en foule à leurs demeures pour leur dire, nous sommes tous ensemble également fautifs ou excusables, nous ne voulons pas que vous soyez enlevés. La première reflexion portait à croire que ces arrestations seraient en premier lieu tentées par le pouvoir civil. Et ce ne fut qu'un jour ou deux avant l'événement que l'on commença à conjecturer que le militaire serait employé à ces expéditions. Il n'y avait pas le tems nécessaire de faire des préparatifs de résistance proportionnés aux moyens d'aggrression. La navigation est demeurée ouverte pendant vingt jours plus tard que les années dernières. Cet accident désastreux, a permis au Gouvernement de jeter à la fois par les bateaux à vapeurs des corps nombreux de troupes, sur les rives du Richelieu. Huit cents hommes bien armés ont été employés à ce service, pour l'apprehension dira-t-il d'une douzaine d'individus. Non. Il voulait commencer la guerre civile pour frapper de terreur dans un long avenir, un peuple qui supporte impatiemment la dégradation qui est attachée inséparablement au régime colonial, tel que le comprend et l'exploite l'Angleterre, un peuple qui aspire à partager le sort heureux que vous ont fait l'insolence Anglaise, les vertus courageuses, les sacrifices patriotiques des sages et des héros de 1776 et un peu, des secours étrangers. Nous sommes dans la situation, dans les dangers qui alors assiégeaient vos Ancêtres. Bien vite nous en sortirons, nous partagerons, si vous nous secourez votre sort prospère, et nous en sommes dignes, par l'étendue de nos mieux soufferts & à souffrir si nous succombons, par la sincérité avec laquelle nous aimons vos doctrines et vos institutions, par l'avantage que vous trouverez dans des rapports de commerce et d'union politique avec cette partie de ce continent, qui est si près de vous et si loin de l'Angleterre; par la nécessité où vous êtes, en vue de votre et de notre future tranquillité, de vous débarrasser du voisinage d'une puissance européenne ennemie de vos institutions jalouse de la prospérité sur vos malheurs. La société Américaine est autrement constituée que celle de l'Europe. Par toutes les lois de la nature, nous sommes détachés de l'Europe et attachés aux Etats Unis, et vos vœux unanimes appellent cette union. Nous sommes un grand nombre de Canadiens que les soudaines violences de gouvernement ont éloigné du sol natal, et qui sont réfugiés auprès de vos foyers hospitaliers. Notre dispersion loin de nous décourager, nous fait comprendre que nous sommes plus forts & combien la domination Anglaise est plus faible et plus précaire que nous ne pensions. Nous avons éprouvé de la part d'un si grand nombre d'Américains dans toutes les classes, dans tous les partis, tant et de si vives & si généreuses preuves de leurs sympathies, pour les patriotes Canadiens, que nous sommes persuadés que des secours comparativement légers, pour donner à nos compatriotes des armes dont ils feraient un bon usage, les mettraient sous peu en état de se donner une organisation civile et militaire, qui leur permettraient d'établir et défendre une constitution aussi libre et purement démocratique, que celles qui régissent vos vingt six états souverains; que celles qui font la gloire et le bonheur de vos quinze millions d'habitans les plus libres qu'il y ait jamais eu au monde; et qui font l'effroi des Monarchies, Aristocraties, et despotismes militaires du vieux monde. Il nous faut effectuer l'achat de dix mille mousquets, de vingt pièces d'artillerie, des munitions, et de quoi payer les vivres des volontaires qui les feront jouer pendant quatre mois, pour que nos chances de succès soient presque infaillibles. Si ces secours nous manquent vous aurez la Pologne et ses horreurs à vos portes. Cent mille piastres

sont à trouver dans l'union; mais elles sont plus difficiles à trouver aujourd'hui que des millions quand nous aurons commencé à organiser un gouvernement provisoire ouvert; des bureaux d'emprunts, comme aussi des bureaux pour la vente des terres vacantes, riches garanties d'indemnité, pour les prêteurs.

Je suis ici dans un lieu où je suis en rapport avec des patriotes du Haut et du Bas Canada et d'où je ne puis m'absenter par cette raison. Sans cet obstacle j'irais de suite vous voir au lieu de vous écrire et vous expliquer mieux en une heure de conversation la vraie situation de notre chère Pays, que je ne le ferais par les plus longues lettres; vous prier instamment de vous intéresser à nous faire trouver dans Boston ou partout ailleurs où vous avez des amis, un prêt le plus large que vous pourriez obtenir en acompte de ces cent mille piastres. Des hommes braves et aussi des *hommes expérimentés sont à nous et nous à eux* si nous avons ce secours. Je ne suis pas un visionnaire. Nombre de vos compatriotes des plus éclairés, des meilleurs penseurs, des plus élevés en rang et en influence, voient comme moi. C'est en commun avec eux que je vous prie à mains jointes de favoriser cette entreprise. Elle est d'un prix inestimable pour mon pays, et cependant je ne veux pas son succès aux dépens du bonheur de celui-ci. Je suis si attaché au Republicanisme tel que l'ont compris et enseigné Thomas Jefferson et son école, dont je crois que Mr. Martin Van Buren est un des plus dignes adeptés, que je pense que l'on ne peut user trop d'art et de ménagement, dans la conduite de cette affaire pour que le puissant parti qui vous est malheureusement opposé ignore dans ces premiers momens que quelques uns des amis intimes de votre excellent président partagent et appuient ces sentimens et ces démarches. L'esprit de parti voudrait le rendre responsable de mesures toutes prises à son insçu. La cause de la liberté et de la justice en souffriraient dans ce Pays même comme dans le nôtre. Un ami doit partir, m'assure-t-on de cette ville, en même tems que cette lettre pour vous aller voir et vous donner des renseignemens que des lettres ne peuvent jamais pleinement embrasser, et vous dire quels seront les efforts qui se font simultanément ici et à New York pour négocier des dons et des emprunts. Combien je souhaiterais ardemment avoir le plaisir de voyager pour vous aller consulter, au lieu d'envoyer cette lettre. Dois-je perdre l'espérance d'avoir avec vous cette entrevue? Irez vous à Boston? Si dans quelques jours vous êtes chez vous & que je ne sois pas en Canada, je tomberai peut être chez vous à l'improviste comme une bombe. Si nous n'obtenons pas les secours désirés, si de nouveaux désastres inattendus nous ôtaient l'espoir d'aider la cause du Canada de ce côté de l'océan, il y aurait peut être utilité pour moi ou quelqu'autre réfugié, de passer en Europe, pour s'y mettre en rapports fréquents avec Messieurs O'Connel Roebuck & ça et auprès amis, qui chercheraient à ralentir l'inondation de maux, que nous préparent l'orgueil Aristocratique et les vengeances ministérielles. Vous connaissez les deux mondes, les précautions qu'il faudrait prendre pour arriver sur le continent et y demeurer à l'abri de persécutions officielles. Vous seriez un guide sûr, dont les avis me sont indispensables s'il fallait prendre ce parti. Comptant sur votre bienveillante sympathie, attendant de vous une réponse encourageante, et vous souhaitant toute la santé et tout le bonheur possible. Je demeure avec une sincère considération et estime

Votre obéissant et affectionné
Serveur

PAPINEAU

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

D. J. McDOUGALL

REFLECTING on the list of books to be reviewed in this article, I am reminded of the caption that used to appear on the wine list of a well known hostelry much frequented by the gilded, and the not so gilded youth of Oxford a generation ago: "All of these wines are drinkable. Some of them are remarkable." All of these books are readable, although in some cases an effort may be required. All of them are useful, in the sense that even the least of them may add some fragments of information or some commentary that will help to an understanding of the changing pattern of Commonwealth relations, or of developments within one or other of its component parts. A few of them are remarkable by any standard.

A feature of the year's publications is the number of good books on the recent history of India. Two of these are outstanding, both by Indian scholars. Mr. Menon's *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* is the first major work on this subject, and it may well be the last. The author was himself one of the principal agents of the new Indian Government in carrying out the operation; and his record is so complete, and his book so well written, that it is not likely to be replaced. Mr. Moraes' life of Jawaharlal Nehru may have a less certain future. On certain points his interpretation will doubtless be challenged. But this is the best biography of any of the Indian leaders that has yet been written; and it will probably remain one of the permanent books on these years of struggle. Lord Zetland's memoirs contain some valuable first-hand evidence on the efforts of the British government to inaugurate the federation of India provided for in the Act of 1935. Mr. Zinkin's book is a revealing analysis of the whole difficult problem of economic and social development, primarily in India, but extending as well to other countries in southeast Asia, which have until recently been under the rule of European power.

The books on Africa, with one or two exceptions, are less notable. There are two useful general histories, one on West Africa by Mr. Fage, one on East Africa by Messrs. Marsh and Kingsnorth. The most original of the books in this group is perhaps Mr. Bankole Timothy's life of Kwame Nkrumah, an intimate study of the career and personality of a man about whom more will be written. The

most scholarly and the most arresting is Professor De Kiewiet's brilliant analysis of the present crisis in South Africa, and of the historic forces that have produced it.

Most of these books are somewhat specialized studies. The one general history published during the year is a book that will be warmly welcomed by teachers and students of the subject everywhere. Professor Knaplund's history of *Britain, Commonwealth and Empire*, since the beginning of the present century is the most comprehensive and the most scholarly account of this development that has been written. By comparison with J. A. Spender's well-known book, which deals with a slightly different period, it gives more space to the overseas communities and rather less to political developments in Great Britain. This is not to say however that changes in Britain are passed over lightly. One central theme in the author's interpretation is that political, economic, and social changes in Britain have powerfully aided the development of the Commonwealth by lessening the differences between the mother country and the dominions. In that respect he assigns rather more importance than most writers to the policy of the Labour government after 1945. If, as is here suggested, there was some idea that the Conservatives under Churchill would revert to "John Bull methods" of governing the Empire, it was soon evident that no such change was possible. It must be added that there is no very convincing evidence that such a change was contemplated, despite a few characteristic outbursts by Sir Winston, in 1931, and on occasions during the war. The pattern of development was firmly fixed, and this book itself provides abundant evidence to suggest that the ideas which underlay it were not the exclusive property of any one party.

Professor Knaplund rejects the view held by some popular writers that the changes of the past few decades reveal the weakness, and portend the ultimate dissolution of the Empire. He prefers to regard them as "the gradual fulfilment of Britain's mission as the builder of nations." The process began with the first settlements in America. What has followed is, in his judgment, but "the inevitable result of the transplantation of British institutions" to these new communities. That is perhaps to put the case a little too strongly. It is only in very recent times that the missionaries have become conscious of their mission; and a great many of them have accepted it with something less than apostolic zeal. It required a very unusual combination of circumstances during the nineteenth century to bring about the result that was achieved; and not a little evidence might

be cited from some earlier works by Professor Knaplund himself to demonstrate that the result was not quite so inevitable.

But the book is concerned primarily with the history of the Commonwealth in the present century; and there has been no better account of the complex development by which the present position has been reached. The emphasis is on the dominions and on their relationship to Great Britain—a relationship which, in the author's view, moved "to a diplomatic, rather than a constitutional" basis as a result of the Statute of Westminster. The new bonds are judged to have been tenuous; and Professor Knaplund ventures the opinion that, had Neville Chamberlain "defied Hitler in 1938, the Commonwealth would have split wide apart." The foreign policy of the British government and the attitude of the British people as a whole come in for some severe criticism. "Seldom in the world's history," says the author, "has a nation collectively been so blameworthy in misreading the signs of the times." It is not made as clear as it might be that this policy, however disastrous in its consequences, was endorsed by every one of the dominions, with the partial exception of New Zealand. The critical reader may also note that this section is written without a single reference to the United States.

The struggle for independence in India, the settlement in 1947, and the later development of the Republic are given a good deal of space; and these are among the best sections of the book. A similar and in some ways a more difficult problem now confronts the British government in the African dependencies; and Professor Knaplund fears that resistance to, or delay in responding to the clamorous demand of "Africa for the Africans" may spell disaster for the whole Imperial authority. The danger is no doubt real. The crises in Buganda and in Kenya are still far from being resolved; and there is abundant evidence of fear and suspicion among the natives in the Central African Federation. But recent events in the Sudan, in Ghana, and in Nigeria give some ground for thinking that British policy is something more than resistance and reaction. Whether all this should be interpreted as the "fulfilment of a mission," or as the equally statesmanlike policy of recognizing change and yielding to forces that can no longer be controlled, may be left to the reader. In this history he will have an admirably clear and informative guide; and if he seeks for more he will find about as complete a bibliography of every aspect of the subject as can be desired.

In Ireland the "historic mission" has taken a different form, and the results have been less fortunate. The attempt of the Liberal Government to establish a very modest form of self-government in

that country in 1912, and the reaction which it provoked, are related with some picturesque and illuminating detail in Mr. Ryan's *Mutiny at the Curragh*. The incident which gives the book its title was an important, but on the whole, a minor episode; and it is here reduced to its proper dimensions. The real interest of the story is in the battle of the politicians, and in the upsurge of violence and irresponsibility, which went beyond the arena of Anglo-Irish politics. The author describes his work as a "political melodrama"; and he makes the most of the dramatic elements with which it abounds. But it is a serious piece of historical writing, based on a wide range of sources, some of which have not previously been used. The story is familiar, and this book adds little, except possibly a portrait gallery of politicians and generals, most of them limned in acid.

Mr. Ryan has little difficulty in demonstrating that the resignation of a few cavalry officers in Northern Ireland did not amount to mutiny. Mutiny there was, he says, "not at the Curragh, but at the War Office, where Sir Henry Wilson was its salesman." He examines and dismisses the charge that the Liberal ministers, Churchill foremost among them, plotted to provoke an outbreak in Ulster, which would give them an excuse for "shooting down the Covenanters and establishing a military dictatorship." The accusation, he remarks, "was symbolic of the nonsense in which otherwise sober politicians allowed themselves to indulge" in the fury of this battle. It was of a piece with Bonar Law's "waving a blank cheque in Carson's face" and inviting him to fill it up in his own terms. In the midst of all this folly and violence it is well to be reminded, as Mr. Ryan does remind us, of the honesty and good sense of George V, and of his determined but unavailing efforts to inject an element of reason and responsibility into these strange proceedings.

The volume on *Ulster under Home Rule*, edited by Mr. Wilson, consists of a number of essays—each presumably the work of an expert in his field—surveying the record and assessing the achievement of the provincial government established in Northern Ireland under the Act of 1920. The contributors are frank in their criticism of much that has been done, or left undone; and some of them are inclined to doubt whether this particular form of devolution has yielded any very positive advantage. It has of course preserved the Six Counties from incorporation into the Free State and the later Republic of Eire; and to the majority of the inhabitants of the region that is the supreme object. But in other respects the advantages are not very striking.

The powers conferred on the local authority are extremely limited.

In the field of finance, for example, the control held by Westminster is so extensive that very little scope is left for the ministers in the subordinate government. Wage rates in the province are lower than in Great Britain; unemployment is higher; emigration is constant and tending to increase. In the circumstances the provincial authorities have little choice but to adopt in their curious "step-by-step" method the measures of social and economic policy passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. At times the results have been curious, especially during the years when the Labour Government was in office in Great Britain. Members from the province joined their Conservative allies in condemning the socialist measures being enacted at Westminster, only to find their fellow Unionists at Stormont adopting them without significant change. Socialism, according to one of these writers, offends at once against the conservatism and the old-fashioned radicalism, which are the two ingredients of the Ulsterman's political thinking. But the welfare legislation of the past decade is popular with the working classes; and it has had the effect of further accentuating the difference between conditions in the area and other parts of Ireland.

The most searching criticism of the régime is made by Professor Newark in an illuminating chapter on the "Law and the Constitution." In the circumstances parliamentary government cannot work normally, since the existence of the state depends upon the maintenance in power of a single party. But he points the danger to the principles of parliamentary democracy in a system which ensures the perpetual rule of a small group, free from effective opposition, and able at all times to silence criticism or independence of judgment among its followers. A similar conclusion is reached by Mr. Sayres in a chapter analysing the political parties and the social forces from which they draw their support. There is equal dissatisfaction with the economic results. On that ground the comparison is with other parts of the United Kingdom; and Messrs. Isles and Cuthbert, after a careful study of economic structure and policy, conclude that the local economy would probably benefit from a repeal of the Act of 1920 and the substitution of a form of "administrative devolution," such as that being worked out in Scotland and Wales. From that opinion the editor dissents; but he too is critical of the government for its lack of initiative, and for its failure to use such powers as it possesses to enact social and economic legislation more suited to the conditions of the region.

Mr. Miller's survey of *Australian Government and Politics* presents the essentials of the subject in a convenient and an eminently

readable form. This last is a quality which distinguishes it from a good many more ambitious, but not more instructive, books on the subject. The author, who for some years has been a lecturer in the London School of Economics, seems to have written with his English students in mind. His best sections are on the intricacies of the federal system, and on the changing relations between the Commonwealth and the state authorities during the past half-century. For the benefit of those who are worried about "duplicated sovereignty" he points out that federation is not a half-way house on the way to a unitary state. It is a form suited to the needs, and determined by the political experience, of the Australian people. On one point in his historical survey Mr. Miller differs from the views of some recent Australian writers. But for the gold discoveries, "which changed the face of Australian society," he suggests that some form of oligarchy in the hands of the wealthy squatters might have taken root, especially in New South Wales and Victoria. That has been challenged by Professors Clark and Greenwood among others; and their evidence on the government of these colonies before and after the 1850's appears convincing.

The West Indies is another region where, for very different reasons, the building and maintenance of a viable system of self-government have encountered series difficulties. It has long been the neglected, if not the forgotten, part of the Empire. But the adoption of a plan of federation and the prospect of attaining dominion status in the near future have focused attention on it, and the *Short History of the West Indies* by Mr. Parry and Mr. Sherlock is a welcome addition to the scanty and uneven literature on the subject. The book covers the history of the whole Carribean area, but with some emphasis on the islands that have come under British rule. It differs from many other books on the subject, in that the authors consider the islands, "not as appendages to Europe, but as a community, or group of communities whose history deserves to be studied in its own right." The account is brief; but within its limits it presents an adequate and an extremely interesting survey of the varying fortunes of all the islands during the past four centuries.

There are of course great differences between the several islands, and these differences have been sharpened by the policies of the European powers which held control. But there is much in common, notably in the social pattern which developed in communities where virtually the entire population was imported, either voluntarily or under coercion, and where a very similar type of economy pre-

vailed. This is the unifying thread; and the most suggestive parts of the book are the sections dealing with the still unsolved problem of creating a homogeneous society out of the varied elements which make up the population of the islands. The authors are critical of many things done or left undone by the British government. But they take a more favourable view of the results of emancipation and of the apprenticeship system than some earlier writers. They have no regrets over the disappearance of the old assemblies in the British islands. They served merely to obstruct the execution of policies that were urgently needed; and their removal was necessary before the foundations of a genuine system of self-government could be laid. A good deal has been done during the past few decades to build such foundations. The process has been aided by developments during and since the Second World War, notably in such islands as Jamaica and Trinidad, but to some extent in the smaller islands as well. There are still great difficulties to be overcome; but the authors look with some confidence to a better future for the peoples of these islands than most of them have known at any time in the centuries that are here surveyed.

The other two books on the West Indies are specialized studies of particular problems. Mr. Thornton's *West India Policy under the Restoration* is a well documented account of the development and the application to these islands, already considered the most valuable of England's colonial possessions, of the so-called mercantile system that would shortly be extended to all the overseas dependencies. The policy was not new. It is described here as "a more realistic form of Cromwell's grandiose Western Design," and many of those who were most active in furthering it had served under the Protector. But it was now a national policy, supported by the King and his Council, the House of Commons and the commercial interests in London. All were agreed on the necessity of "self-sufficiency" for the Empire as far as that was possible, and on the desirability of developing and exploiting the resources of these islands to the uttermost. Confusion at home and differences with Spain, accompanied by the usual form of warfare "beyond the line," hampered the Privy Council in the early years of the reign. But these difficulties were overcome, and by 1685 the policy had been worked out and the appropriate instruments for its execution were firmly established.

In Barbados and in Jamaica, as in Massachusetts at the same time, the policy met strong opposition. In the first of these islands an assembly already existed, dating from the reign of Charles I. In Jamaica similar institutions were established in 1662, although the

island was still "a place of soldiery rather than of settlement." The purpose was as much to attract settlers as to create an effective colonial legislature, and it seems to have had the desired effect. But the settlers were not behind those in other colonies in asserting their freedom not to be bound by laws to which they had not given their consent. In his final estimate Mr. Thornton describes the policy as "firm but not despotic, sensibly limited by some reference to the demands and the interests of the colonies, but clearly designed to secure the maximum benefit from them." His book is important, not only as a study of foundations in these islands, but even more as an analysis of the formulation and application of the policy that was to be extended to all other colonies, and that was to endure without change of principle to the era of the American Revolution.

Mr. Curtin's *Two Jamaicas* is a study of the impact of humanitarian idealism and free trade politics on a community that lacked almost everything that was required for a peaceful and orderly transition from the old to the new concept of empire that was taking shape during and after the 1830's. It is the history of a revolution in two phases: the first a social revolution, reflected in, and resulting from, the emancipation of the slaves; the second a political revolution culminating in the rising at Morant Bay in 1865 and the abolition of the old assembly, and with it the political control of the planter class. A great deal has been written on Jamaica in these years; and it might be supposed that the ground had been pretty thoroughly covered. But this is one of the most illuminating studies of this strange and deeply divided society, and one of the most revealing accounts of the reasons for the tragic results that followed the ending of slavery that has been written. It is the more convincing because of the restraint with which Mr. Curtin deals with the actions, the policies, and the shortcomings of all those who were involved.

Responsibility rests mainly, but not exclusively, with the planter class who held political power, and who had long and successfully resisted every effort to reform, either the "outmoded economy," or the anarchic social system which had developed in the island. But, given their history, and the political and social outlook which it bred, not much more could have been expected. It was these men, not all of them bad, but most of them slovenly, ignorant, and improvident, upon whom the British government had to rely for giving effect to the new order of freedom. Perforce they accepted the social revolution; but they retained political control; and even had they been willing to co-operate in the work of training the

apprentices for freedom, the task was made more difficult by the greater antagonism between blacks and whites which the struggle for emancipation had produced. There were always two societies and two cultures in the island, remote from one another in outlook, but linked by the slave economy, and dependent on one another. That link was now broken, or greatly weakened; and the division quickly became deeper and more irreconcilable than ever.

From Britain too, the guidance and the pressure were inadequate. "In effect," says Mr. Curtin, "the British humanitarians had mustered enough political strength to put through the Emancipation Act, only to lose at the very end the extent of power needed to keep a guiding hand on the new social order." What emancipation began, the adoption of free trade completed. In a series of appendices Mr. Curtin assembles the statistics which explain the collapse of an economy and with it of a society that had no place in an empire dominated by the ideas of Adam Smith and Wilberforce. What is remarkable is that the political revolution was delayed for almost a generation. The rising at Morant Bay was not a national insurrection, much less a war of the blacks against the whites. In other circumstances it would have been a minor episode. But it was enough to put an end to a system that had long since forfeited any right to exist.

For many readers the most interesting of all these books will probably be Mr. Moraes' life of Jawaharlal Nehru. There may be other biographies of the Indian leader available to readers in his own country. This is the first full length study to be published in the West; and its purpose is clearly to interpret Nehru's career as an opponent of British rule and as prime minister of the new republic for readers in Europe and America. The author is exceptionally well qualified for his task. His education and experience, like those of Nehru himself, have made him familiar with the thought and the idiom of the East and the West. As a distinguished journalist—he is now editor of *The Times of India*—he has been in close touch with the struggle for independence during the past thirty years. Whether he has himself taken more than a journalist's part in it does not appear. His sympathies are evidently with the nationalist movement. But as a historian he stands apart; and he sets down the record with a measure of detachment that is not always to be found in books on this subject.

Nehru's career is here presented as a consistent whole. His present policy in India, embodied in the two five year plans, and his determination to preserve the independence of the country, free from

association with either of the power blocs which now divide the world, are, in Mr. Moraes' judgment, the result of years of study and experience. His interest in socialism began during his student days in Cambridge, where he made his first contact with Fabian thought. It was strengthened by later visits to Europe, including a few days in Moscow in 1927. It was confirmed by his observation of the conditions under which millions of his countrymen lived. His views on this subject have not always concurred with those of Mr. Gandhi; and Mr. Moraes records many sharp and prolonged differences between the two men, on strategy and on ultimate objectives. No less important, they involved him in bitter conflict with the more conservative members of the Congress. Nehru insisted, against the opposition of the older members and of the wealthy industrialists who supplied the Congress party with a large part of its revenue, that the political objective must be accompanied by a defined programme of social and economic reform. In the end he had his way. The policy of the new Indian Government since 1947 has followed the lines laid down by Nehru himself in the 1930's.

This part of the argument is entirely convincing. The chapters on foreign policy and on the dispute over the disposition of Kashmir raise more questions. On this last issue Mr. Moraes appears non-committal. He quotes at length from Nehru's speeches explaining the principles on which he has acted, and justifying the intervention, not only as a duty incumbent on the government of India, but also on the ground that it was called for, and has generally been supported by the people of Kashmir. That is not quite the impression left by the reports of U.N. agents who have visited the province. To many it will appear that Nehru's condemnation of imperialism is limited rather too narrowly to the form long practiced by the powers of western Europe, and that he is disposed to take a more lenient view of Russia's subordination of so many of the weaker communities on her borders. Mr. Moraes' statement that "in the Asian mind colonialism has always been equated with colour," is a partial explanation. It is by no means an adequate answer.

About one-third of the book deals with the period since 1947, and this is the most original and most instructive part. Like many others, Mr. Moraes is anxious about the future. Nehru now stands alone, and power has affected him as it usually affects men in similar positions. "He is Caesar," says Mr. Moraes, "and from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar." The foundations of democracy and of parliamentary government are still precarious. It is threatened by powerful forces, especially from the right. While Nehru remains

in control these dangers are not very serious. Who will succeed him, and what will happen when his strong hand is removed, are the unanswered questions in Mr. Moraes' mind. But that is for the future. For the past, from Nehru's days as a schoolboy in Harrow to his present position, this is as good a book on the subject as will be written for a long time to come.

Mr. Menon's *Story of the Integration of the Indian States* is the authentic record of the process by which the new Government disposed of one of the most difficult of the many problems created by the withdrawal of British authority. It was feared by many, including Nehru himself and his able lieutenant Sardar Patel, that the ending of "paramountcy" might lead to a state of confusion which would paralyse, if it did not destroy, the new dominion at its birth. That danger was averted. The problem which had vexed the minds of British statesmen for a generation past was settled with remarkable speed and efficiency. When the new Constitution came into operation in 1950 the more than five hundred separate states which the British authority had preserved in some measure of autonomy had been merged into the pattern of the Republic. In a very few cases something that went a little beyond "persuasion" was required. In most the change was affected with singularly little friction and without coercion.

In the record of this operation as Mr. Menon presents it, it seems plain that the danger in 1947 was not so great as was feared. The British Government had been reluctant to put any pressure on the Indian princes to join the federation provided for in the Act of 1935. But from the time of the Cripps mission in 1942, it was made clear that, "if the interests of British India came into conflict with those of the States, His Majesty's government would almost certainly let down the States." That lesson was driven home by the Cabinet Mission in 1946, and more particularly by Lord Mountbatten, whose influence on the rulers was not the least important factor in effecting the peaceful change. There was never any real unity among the rulers. A considerable number of them joined the Constituent Assembly in the spring of 1947; and the idea of a "confederation of the States," suggested by some of the more conservative, attracted very little support. Yet when all the favouring circumstances are acknowledged, this was a notable achievement, especially for a government confronted by the gigantic problems created by the British withdrawal and the partition of the country.

Integration, as understood by the new Indian Government, involved much more than the securing of "instruments of accession."

That was but the beginning; and Mr. Menon explains in detail the steps taken to reform and reorganize the governments of the states, to consolidate the smaller ones into viable units and to merge their military, financial, and administrative systems into those of the republic. Most of the rulers accepted the inevitable and co-operated, more or less willingly. The Nizam of Hyderabad was an exception; and almost a year of persuasion, supplemented in the end by some "police action," was required before he was brought into line. The case of Kashmir is considered to be exceptional; and the chapter dealing with it is a vigorous and well reasoned defence of the stand taken by the Indian Government. Faced with this problem in 1947, that Government was fortunate to have in its service two such men as Sardar Patel and Mr. Menon himself. His book is an admirable record of what they achieved; its value is enhanced by the inclusion of a large number of the essential documents and by a good bibliography of printed works.

The symposium on the Indian Parliament edited by Mr. Lal is a serious inquiry into the working of parliamentary democracy as it has developed in these first years of trial. The investigation ranges over a wide field, embracing such diverse matters as the powers of the President, the growth of parliamentary procedure, the rôle of the Opposition, and the provision for university education under the five-year plan. The contributors, who include university teachers, members of Parliament, and journalists are not in all cases satisfied with what has been accomplished, or with what is being planned. But they are in evident agreement on two fundamental points: that parliamentary government is at once the most suitable and the strongest and most stable form of government that the country could adopt; and that there is "nothing in the Indian heritage that is antagonistic to the democratic character."

Some of the criticism is concerned with dangers that appear somewhat hypothetical. The power given to the President to nominate a few members may conceivably lead to abuse, but it is unlikely to have any serious effect on the working of the system. A more important matter, discussed by a number of these writers, is the question of leadership. Many of the men now in Parliament and in the administrative services received their training under British rule; and several of these writers are clearly of opinion that not enough is being done to prepare for the time when they must retire. One serious weakness, discussed at length by a member of the House of the People, is the absence of an effective Opposition. That is due in part to the multiplicity of parties and groups which the

electoral system has produced. But Mr. Nehru himself comes in for some severe criticism because of his alleged hostility to the formation of an organized Opposition.

It would be a mistake however to emphasize unduly the note of criticism which runs through these essays. The prevailing tone, set by Mr. Lal in his introductory chapter, is one of cautious optimism. Some of the problems with which they deal are peculiar to India; and on that ground the book is a valuable commentary on a democratic experiment that has no exact parallel. Many of them are common to parliamentary government everywhere. With all its difficulties Mr. Lal is convinced that "no form of government can stand adversity better than parliamentary democracy." In India during these first years, it has been faced with exceptional difficulties. But there is a tradition dating from the years of British rule; and these essays suggest that the system is being adapted with reasonable efficiency to the needs of the Indian people.

The Memoirs of the Marquis of Zetland, published under the title of *'Essayez,'* contain some material of interest to students of constitutional development in India. The author served for a time on the personal staff of Lord Curzon; and his biography of that statesman is a standard work on the history of a crucial period in the development, perhaps also in the decline of British rule. As Governor of Bengal from 1917 to 1922 he presided over the inauguration of dyarchy in that province at a moment when the conflict between Hindus and Muslims was assuming alarming proportions. He has already written extensively on this period of Indian history, and in this volume he confines himself to a few general observations on this "ingenious if somewhat fanciful experiment," supplemented by a long chapter on the communal conflict, which he judged to be irreconcilable. He did not oppose the plan. In the circumstances he could hardly have done so. But he regarded it as an attempt "to build the upper stories of the edifice without troubling over much about the foundations on which it had to stand."

A later section of the book is more valuable. Lord Zetland was Secretary of State for India from 1935 to the fall of Neville Chamberlain's Government in 1940; and in the chapters relating to this period of his life he publishes a great many extracts from his correspondence with Lord Linlithgow, then serving as Viceroy of India. The immediate task was to launch the federation provided for in the Government of India Act of 1935. The fate of that plan had been left in the hands of the Indian princes. Their representatives, or some of them, had, in Lord Zetland's words, "paid lip-service to the principle of federa-

tion" during the Round Table Conference. But he was not surprised, nor, it would appear, greatly concerned, when those gentlemen found cogent reasons for refusing the conditions offered in the Act. He would put no pressure on them. Their adhesion must be entirely voluntary. But on the other hand, he was anxious to guard against pressure in the opposite direction, in particular against the activities of Jinnah and his associates in the Muslim League, who had great influence with some of the more important princes.

This is an illuminating correspondence, and it is to be hoped that before long it will be published in its entirety. One notable feature is the discussion of the crisis in Palestine, and the effect of British policy towards the Arab states on Muslim opinion in India. In the end it is difficult to be quite certain about Lord Zetland's views on the larger question of self-government. He writes repeatedly of the necessity of maintaining "British influence." Whether influence is synonymous with power is not always clear. He was wholly out of sympathy with the reactionaries led by Churchill, who gave him a good deal of trouble in these years. But he was himself far from being a reformer in a hurry. He seems to have envisaged a slow and gradual transition, very different from that which has actually occurred. At one point he comments on the "astonishing illusion" held by Morley and others, that the reforms of 1909 would not lead to a demand for parliamentary institutions. He was probably right; but this correspondence suggests that was himself not wholly free from a very similar illusion.

Lady Hartog's *India, New Pattern*, is the record of a visit in 1953, and of the author's impressions of the country after an absence of twenty years. Unlike many of the English who lived in India under the old dispensation, Lady Hartog has kept in touch with her many Indian friends. She has in consequence had an opportunity of discovering what a certain number of reasonably well informed people think about the new order. Her most vivid impression is that of "the intangible change in the spirit of the Indian people." Everywhere she found a "new feeling of self-confidence, an urge to get things done, the quickened life and vitality of a nation re-born." In general she eschews politics, but they cannot be entirely excluded. She believes that Hindu communalism is still a "potential danger"; and her impression on that point coincides with the views of some of the writers on the Indian Parliament. For the present Nehru controls it; but the question of the succession inevitably arises.

There is, if we may judge from this record, some serious discontent with existing conditions. Expenditure on the military estab-

ishment takes a higher proportion of the national revenue than at any time under British rule. Among certain groups, and notably among the poorest and most numerous, there has been some improvement in the standard of living. But the price level has risen more sharply in India than in Great Britain since the war; and the effect upon large sections of the middle class has been extremely serious. Yet on balance this is a record of progress, bringing with it some salutary and long overdue changes in the structure and outlook of Indian society.

Lady Hartog writes with no purpose beyond that of conveying to her readers her own impressions of the new India. In his *Development for Free Asia* Mr. Zinkin writes with the avowed purpose of directing the attention of government officials and of all responsible persons to the vast problems for which solutions must quickly be found, if the political freedom so recently won is to be of any value to the peoples of the continent. His book is at once an analysis of social and economic conditions in India and neighbouring countries, and a suggested programme of action. This action is primarily the responsibility of the men who now control the destinies of these nations. But the book is intended to inform Western readers of the actual conditions, to indicate the consequences that may follow if these conditions are allowed to continue, and to suggest the help that may be given to ameliorate them.

The problem everywhere is poverty. That is the simple and universal fact that has not been changed by the transfer of political power. It has long been accepted almost as a law of existence; and therein lies one of the major difficulties. "These countries are poor," says Mr. Zinkin, "precisely because their values have not emphasized becoming rich." To alter that state of things, something like a revolution, mental and material, is required. He is careful to emphasize that he does not propose the abandonment of traditional ideas in favour of the purely secular, almost pagan, materialism which passes for a philosophy of life among so many people in the West. But a great deal that has been held inviolable in the Indian way of life must be forgotten. With that must come an industrial revolution on an unprecedented scale, a drastic change in the present balance between agriculture and industry, and the transfer of millions of people to urban areas, not as temporary factory workers who will shortly return to their villages, but as permanent town dwellers.

The analysis and the recommendations are intended to be applicable to large sections of Asia. But India, the subject of a "case study" in the last and most interesting part of the book, is the

country which Mr. Zinkin has uppermost in mind. There, for reasons which he explains, business as such is held in low repute; and a radical change of outlook is required before banking, insurance, and other facilities can be created, which will draw such capital as there is into channels where it will be most useful. But the capital available in India, and in all of these countries is clearly insufficient; Mr. Zinkin makes a strong appeal, particularly to the United States, to assist in the work of reconstruction, either by loans to governments, or by private investment in industry and other needed enterprises. India, he believes, is in a more favourable position than most countries in Asia, mainly because of her long connection with Britain; and he emphasizes the point that it is precisely in those countries, India, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia, that have long been under the rule of the so-called "exploiting imperialist powers" that economic conditions are most advanced. But "colonialism" by its very nature cannot be a permanent answer. The problem, whatever aid may be given from without, is one that calls for unprecedented effort and sacrifice by the peoples of these regions themselves. There are, he thinks, some hopeful signs that they are aware of what is required, and not unwilling to make the sacrifice.

In his essay on the Colombo Plan, Professor Benham supplies some additional data on conditions in several countries in this area. The essay is based largely on the report of the Consultative Committee in 1954; but there has probably been no great change. What it reveals can be described as at best a very qualified success. A substantial part of the funds provided under the plan is being spent on the basic necessities of education, transport facilities, irrigation projects, and the like; and these are investments which do not yield immediate returns. In most areas—Ceylon is cited as an example—the efforts to develop secondary industries on the required scale have not been very successful. Some capital has been available; but the author believes that, "because of the rise in population the rate of investment is doing no more than maintaining the present standard of living." Yet some promising projects are well under way; and there has been a slight increase in the per capita income in most areas. How much of this can be credited to the Colombo Plan is not suggested. But Professor Benham is convinced that the plan should be continued after the present year, when it was to have come to an end.

Among those who took some part in the discussions which led to the adoption of the Colombo Plan, Sir John Kotelawala, then Prime Minister of Ceylon, has a prominent place. He is better known

perhaps for his action at the later Bandung Conference of Asian and African leaders, where his frank condemnation of the "new colonialism in the form of aggressive and subversive communism" attracted some notice throughout the world, and incidentally led to a sharp passage of arms with Mr. Nehru. These events, along with many others in his active and somewhat tempestuous career, are related in his little volume, *An Asian Prime Minister's Story*. The bulk of the book deals with the period since the war and the attainment of dominion status by Ceylon. The earlier struggle for independence is sketched very briefly; and apart from some entertaining stories of Sir John's own part in these events, it adds little to what has already been written.

During a large part of his life Sir John has been an outspoken opponent of what he called the "ruthless exploitation" of his people by the ruling British authority. But he has come to recognize, and he admits with disarming frankness, that this old and much abused colonialism brought great and lasting benefits to his country. In particular, he says, "it taught us to appreciate the democratic way of life." The war was the turning point. Seen at close quarters, Japanese imperialism appeared even more dangerous than the alien rule with which they were familiar. Since then the enemy has been communism—a more dangerous, because a more insidious, form of imperialism, and one which, unlike the "colonialism from which we have progressively freed ourselves," holds no promise of freedom in any form. In her new situation Ceylon needed friends; and Sir John did not hesitate in his choice. Our freedom, he writes, was won "by peaceful and constitutional methods in collaboration with the government of the United Kingdom." His purpose was to continue that collaboration under somewhat different forms.

In a world filled with tension and conflict Sir John has the saving grace of a robust sense of humour. He describes himself as "a bit of a tough guy"; and he obviously enjoys the rôle. But with the toughness is mingled a good deal of shrewdness and sound political sense. The settlement in Ceylon, to which he has contributed so greatly, does not satisfy the more extreme nationalists. But he has probably spoken for the majority of his countrymen both in his opposition to the old imperialism, and in his uncompromising stand against the new form that has established itself in many parts of southeast Asia.

There are obvious and important differences between his career and that of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of the new dominion of Ghana. But the two men have many of the same quali-

ties. Mr. Bankole Timothy's life of Nkrumah is not in all respects the ideal biography. The author is too close to his subject; and he tends at times to swing from extreme and uncritical admiration to generalized charges for which he supplies no very convincing evidence. It is nevertheless a useful, and, in many of its parts, a very interesting, account of a remarkable career, and of the turbulent, but generally good-natured, political struggle in the Gold Coast during the past generation. One point may be emphasized. In the judgment of his biographer, Mr. Nkrumah has not generally been disposed to give much credit to his predecessors. Mr. Timothy constantly directs attention to the work of the pioneers, and to the substantial progress towards self-government that had been made before Nkrumah's return to Accra in 1947 and the subsequent formation of the Convention People's Party. Nkrumah's leadership gave the push that was required. But the process was well underway; and under the constitution recommended in the Coussey Report—which Nkrumah rejected, and against which he organized his campaign of "positive action"—the country would probably have reached the goal in no very long time.

Mr. Nkrumah's pamphlets and speeches on the evils of colonialism and on the remedies which he would apply are quoted at length; and from this material it is possible to form some idea of his political and social theories. They are not remarkable for originality. Mr. Timothy states that in 1947, after his period of study in the United States and Great Britain, Nkrumah "not only knew the problems in the colonies, but had solutions for all of them." In later chapters, discussing the work of the Prime Minister, he is not so certain.

Nkrumah's great talent, perhaps a necessary talent in the circumstances, was that of the agitator. In some measure his work resembles that of Gandhi, for whom he always expressed great admiration. He took politics from the politicians and brought them to the masses. His "positive action," modelled in his view on the campaign of civil disobedience in India, led to violence and bloodshed and landed him in prison, from which he emerged to become the head of the new Government. But in the end he followed the path of compromise. Like Sir John Kotelawala, he exhausted the resources of the English language in denouncing the evils of British rule. But he never seems to have had any idea of leaving the Commonwealth; and he is generous in his praise of the work of the Governor, Sir Charles Arden Clark, whose tact and patience eased the way to a peaceful solution.

Mr. Fage's book is an introductory survey of the history of the

whole West African region. Very little that is at all authentic can be discovered for the long period before the advent of European traders in the sixteenth century; and even after that date the evidence on most matters is fragmentary. The conspicuous feature, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was the slave trade. Mr. Fage estimates that this traffic, with all its concomitant evils, must have lost to West Africa "some thirty or forty million souls." He writes of the monstrous business with restraint, and he warns against the natural tendency to exaggerate its evils. The strange paradox is that it is in the regions where it was most active, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, that the population today is greatest, and political life most advanced. When it was abolished in the face of stubborn opposition from vested interests among the Africans, the British were not content with mere negative action. Christian missionaries, traders engaged in more legitimate forms of commerce, and explorers penetrating the interior of the continent and opening up its resources, combined to lay the foundations of the better order that has since developed.

As a result "Britain drifted into more obligations than were intended or desired." A treaty with the Netherlands in 1872, by which the British acquired possession of all important ports in the region, further consolidated the position, and added new revenues from customs that were needed for economic development, some elementary social services, and the like. Legislative councils were established early; and by the 1890's some Africans were included among the non-official members. New constitutions in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone in the 1920's placed these colonies squarely on the road to a more highly developed form of self-government. The later chapters explain the changes that have taken place since that time. These last are among the best sections in a book that can be warmly recommended as one of the best short histories of the region that is available. The author is a lecturer in History in the University College of the Gold Coast. His judgment on colonialism and its effects bears little resemblance to some of Mr. Nkrumah's more fiery pronouncements. But Mr. Fage is writing History, which makes a difference.

The volume on East Africa by Marsh and Kingsnorth is a similar outline of the history of that region. The task here is rather more complicated. Development in the several territories—Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar and Tanganyika—has not followed a uniform pattern. In the "scramble for Africa" all these were valuable prizes, and the final disposition differed somewhat in each case. Each of these com-

munities too, had its own history, of which some records remain, long before the European powers arrived. These circumstances have in some measure determined the form of the book. It is at once a general history of East Africa—the first of the kind according to the publishers—and a rather more detailed account of the political and economic development of each of the separate territories. The purpose, as stated by the authors, is to relate the history of this region to the over-all pattern of change in Africa, especially during the past century. In addition to a chapter on the partitioning of the continent among the imperial powers, there are useful sections on the evolution of British policy, more particularly on the policy associated with the name of Lord Lugard, whose constructive work in Uganda is explained in some detail. The balance between the general and the local is well maintained; and nothing in the book is more notable than the manner in which this mass of detail has been woven into a clear and orderly narrative.

In this history, as in that of West Africa, slavery and the slave-trade have a large place. Abolition here was an even more difficult undertaking. The trade centred in Zanzibar, and the Sultan was a more formidable opponent than the petty chiefs on the west coast. In the end the trade, and slavery itself, were put down "almost single-handed by Britain," and the way was prepared for a more healthy development. That development was powerfully aided by the work of the East Africa Company, a venture which brought little profit to the shareholders, but which was of the greatest value, particularly in Kenya and Uganda.

The establishment of new forms of government, local and central, was a slow and difficult task. The approach here was, if anything, even more empirical than in other parts of Africa, since each region presented its own peculiar problems. The sections on Uganda are perhaps the best of those for any particular territory. The authors pass lightly over the recent crises in Buganda and Kenya. But their aim has obviously been to write the background history of these and similar events. Their book does not answer all the questions; but it is an excellent introduction to the history of a region that may be vital in the future development of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Jackson's *Behind the Modern Sudan* is a clear and well written account of the events which led up to the withdrawal of British authority and the establishment or recognition of the independence of that country. The author was one of the small group of British officials who undertook the difficult task of bringing order out of the chaos that prevailed throughout the region in the early years of the

century, and of developing the administrative system which has now been handed over to the leaders of the Sudanese people. The opening chapters reveal the almost incredible conditions with which these men had to deal, and the methods, sometimes a little unorthodox, which they adopted to put an end to the anarchy that followed the complete breakdown of Egyptian rule. Under the settlement known as Condominium, authority over the Sudan was divided between Britain and Egypt on terms never precisely defined. A number of Egyptian officers aided in this initial task of putting down crime and violence and establishing a rudimentary form of government. But the task really devolved on this small group of British officials—always too few for the work required, rarely possessed of adequate funds, and dependent at most times upon their own energy and resourcefulness to find solutions for the bewildering problems that beset them on every side. What they accomplished in the circumstances is astonishing; and it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Jackson writes with an undertone of bitterness when he contemplates a settlement which seems to him to imperil all that he and his fellow officials helped to build.

The more immediate purpose of the book is to explain the course of Anglo-Egyptian relations as they affected the situation in the Sudan during the past thirty-five years. The question was placed among the "reserved points" in the settlement of 1922; but Egyptian Governments since that time have never disguised their ambition to recover sole possession of the province. "The Sudan," said the Prime Minister of Egypt in 1924, "belongs to us, and we must have it. We will dispose of it as any landlord would dispose of his own property." Mr. Jackson's view, for which there is ample historical evidence, is that "Egypt has no legal or moral claim" to the allegiance of the Sudanese. Her sovereignty over the region, which was never more than nominal, was destroyed by the Sudanese people themselves. Her return was made possible only by the protection given by the "British umbrella"; and Mr. Jackson is more than dubious about some of the arrangements, which, as he believes, have tended to encourage "imperialist sentiment" in Cairo. In the northern districts, where the population is largely Muslim, there is some natural affinity with Egypt, and it is here that Egyptian propaganda has been most effective. In the south, where society is still primitive, and in many areas tribal, there has been little interest in, or support for, any of the political campaigns, whether for union with Egypt, or for independence. A great deal has been done to remedy the evils existing at the beginning of the century,

to establish law and order, and to develop the economic resources of the country. But the work is still incomplete. The country is deeply divided; and, more important in the present situation in North Africa, it lacks the means of self-defence. The argument has often been used in connection with similar developments in other parts of the empire. But there is a great deal of evidence in this book which cannot be dismissed without serious consideration. It was written before President Nasser came to power. It has lost none of its significance by reason of that event.

In his little volume *New from Africa*, Mr. Hatch, who describes himself as "the envoy of the Labour Party to the peoples of Africa," records his impressions of a recent tour of the continent. The trip was hasty. Mr. Hatch seldom spent more than a few days in any of the territories which he visited. But he made the best use of his time; and he records some interesting discussions with men of all ranks and classes, from the heads of Governments to Opposition leaders, members of trade unions, journalists and others. His interest is in "the creation of viable multi-racial societies" in all these countries. Evidence of progress towards that goal varied greatly in the different areas which he visited. Almost everywhere he found "conservatism, sometimes European, often African," to be the principal obstacle. Illustrations are taken from Kenya and Uganda. In the former he found the majority of the Europeans "still living in an incredible fool's paradise." In the latter he was disturbed by the apparent strength of the Nationalist Party, whose aim is "the establishment of an exclusively African state." Here, however, he was encouraged by the growth of a Progressive Party, vaguely socialist in its principles, and ready to accept the recommendations of the Hancock Report as the basis of a liberal state embracing men of all races.

The severest strictures are reserved for the politicians of the Union, whether in office or in opposition. The criticism of the United Party as men of expediency, fearful of attacking the Government on any issue of principle, is no doubt merited. The suggestion that it would be otherwise but for the death of Smuts rests on the very doubtful assumption that that statesman ever had any constructive policy for dealing with the native problem. Mr. Hatch believes that very little is being done for the peoples of the Commission Territories, who continue to look to Britain for defence against the danger of absorption into the Union. He assumes the existence everywhere of an African nationalism; but his judgments on its character are at times curious. He describes the Mau Mau insurrection as an expres-

sion of true nationalism. On the other hand he suggests that the movement that has carried Mr. Nkrumah to power in Ghana and secured the independence of the country may be little more than an emotional reaction against the rule of the foreigner, and that it may disappear, now that its *raison d'être* has been removed, and leave the country a prey to internal dissension. If one general conclusion is to be drawn from the book, it is perhaps that the desire nearest the hearts of the African peoples is for an immediate return of the Labour Party to power. It may be so; but the point gains nothing by too frequent repetition.

Professor De Kiewiet's lectures—*The Anatomy of South African Misery*—were given under the Whidden Foundation at McMaster University during the past year. They are the first of such lectures sponsored by the Foundation; and they set a very high standard for those that are to follow. Very few scholars can claim an equal knowledge of the present situation in the Union, and of the historic forces that have produced it. Very few books, whatever their length, contain a more realistic analysis of this seemingly insoluble problem, and of its possible repercussions, in and beyond the African continent.

It need hardly be said that the author holds no brief for the present rulers of South Africa. They are, he says, "operating outside the area of history and of facts." Their policies have created a "frontier of conflict," where differences cannot be resolved by an appeal to reason, and where recourse must almost inevitably be had to "resistance, violence and sabotage." In their endeavour to close the door through which the African people may enter into the fuller and freer life opened to them by science and industry, they have transformed the country into a police state, from which the last vestiges of liberal democracy are rapidly disappearing. And they have done these things in order to achieve an object that is beyond their power. "The laws of parliament," says Professor De Kiewiet, "are at war with the laws of economics"; and whatever the misery that must be endured before the issue is settled, he is clearly of the opinion that the laws of economics will prevail.

The present crisis can no doubt be attributed to the folly or the fanaticism of the men who now hold power. But in its deeper and more significant aspects the problem is not solely of their making. The responsibility must be shared more widely. Not a little of it, in Professor De Kiewiet's judgment, rests on the Imperial statemen of the last century, and on the men who, from the days of the gold discovery onward have been advancing the frontiers of European

enterprise and European modes of thought without considering the consequences for the peoples with whom they came in contact.

Their great error, it is suggested, was "the illusion that it was possible to protect and preserve a society which their own economic activities were destroying." It is possible that some of the supporters of apartheid still harbour the illusion. Its dangerous unreality has long since been exposed. Yet no one, not even General Smuts himself, has made any constructive proposal for dealing with the problem that has resulted. In the circumstances the more extreme group of the Afrikaner nationalists, determined to protect their culture against English influence, and to uphold the traditional policy of their people towards the natives, have had the road practically open before them. They have made, and are making the most of their opportunity. But their methods have raised the question to a level where it is no longer purely a matter of domestic politics in the Union.

It has become part of a larger problem, present in one form or another in every part of Africa where European rule has been established. Professor De Kiewiet says little or nothing about nationalism as a sentiment common to the peoples of the continent who have been subjected to alien rule. Indeed he emphasizes the point that "Africa south of the Sahara is not Asia." But the process of change that has been started cannot be arrested, even were that desirable; and upon the solution of this problem of race relations depends much that may affect the peace of the world. The problem is most acute in South Africa, partly because it is there that industrial expansion has been most rapid. In this circumstance Professor De Kiewiet sees a ray of hope. There is evidence, he declares, that "behind the continuing barrage of speeches and gestures," the Government is in fact yielding to economic pressures. So far as it goes the evidence is convincing. But it does not go far; and there is little in this masterly analysis to encourage the belief that under its present Government South Africa will soon be free of the misery born of this baffling problem.

The little volume entitled *The Table*, issued by the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in Commonwealth Parliaments, contains a great deal of varied information about parliamentary sessions, procedure, privilege, the amendment of standing orders, and the like, from legislatures in almost every part of the Commonwealth. It is difficult to find any principle of classification. Some of the papers are historic. These include a sketch of the changes in the procedure for giving royal assent to bills passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom,

and a cursory survey of the growth of responsible government in New South Wales. Others explain the procedure adopted in a number of Commonwealth Parliaments in case of a vacancy in the speakership. The reform of the House of Lords, the revision of standing orders in the Canadian House of Commons, the provision of railway passes to the members of the House of the People in India, and the "parliamentary aspects" of the Queen's visit to Nigeria in 1956, all provide themes for papers of greater or less interest. In a general way the book illustrates the character and the growth of parliamentary government throughout the Empire, not least in those communities where that form of government has recently been adopted. But it contains little that will be of interest to any but the experts and officials whose duties require periodic reference to material of this kind.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Manitoba: A History. By W. L. MORTON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 519, illus. \$5.95.

"My native province," Professor Morton writes, "has always seemed to me an unusual and fascinating place, possessed both of a history of great interest and of a deep sense of history." His volume leaves no doubt that Manitoba is a fascinating place, and if the Manitobans for whom the book was written have the deep sense of history possessed by the Manitoban who wrote it the province has no peer in Canada. The story begins with the Button expedition of 1612 and ends as the book went to press. While the primary emphasis is on the narrative, the author finds time for probing analyses which seldom interfere with the flow of the story. Maintenance of the narrative seems effortless, yet it must have been otherwise. For this is no narrow political history (although political history is exceedingly well treated) but a broad composite picture of every phase of provincial history and life—of settlement and politics, society and culture, of everything from the Canadian Pacific to the mail-order catalogue. Neatly interwoven are a number of essential themes: immigration and the pattern of settlement; conflict and compromise among a multitude of national and religious groups; the development of a distinctive economic and social structure and the growth of a provincial consciousness or sense of identity; the effect of all these basic factors on political, administrative, and constitutional history; the varied fortunes of a metropolitan community eagerly grasping for its own empire; and the permanent and deep-seated conflict between the east-west and north-south axes.

This book has been a lifetime in the making. It could only have been written by an insider; on every page it reveals the congenital association of author and subject. A volume of such scope must move along quickly, but every generalization is based on a wealth of sources that would shame many a monograph. Some Canadian historians would perhaps like to read more on the great political issues that moved from Manitoba into national politics in the thirty years after Confederation—on the disallowance controversy and the school question. To select other matters for deletion would prove to be a hard and unpleasant task.

Manitoba is too full and too varied to do it justice in a short review. The history of the city of Winnipeg is particularly interesting and important, emphasizing once again the great need for competent histories of the major Canadian metropolitan centres. The rivalry of Toronto and Montreal is an old and familiar, if little examined, tale. Here one notes with interest Winnipeg's rapid and anxious northward gaze as the Panama Canal threatens its position on the east-west axis and brings into competition an interloper from the west that is soon to outdistance it. Morton could do much worse than follow this volume with a history of the city he knows so well and so obviously loves. The glimpses of social and cultural history, still an almost virgin field in Canada, are fascinating. Ralph Connor's novels emerge as simply another "part of the great boom, themselves inflated, brittle, and hollow." The political vigour of the 1920's contrasts sharply with the moral, religious, and intellectual narrowness that Manitoba owed in part to heavy immigration from Ontario

but, more particularly it seems, to the necessities of pioneer family settlement. (Not until 1906 were Sunday street cars permitted in Winnipeg and only in 1924 could the sun-drenched citizens take a Sunday train to the Lake!) Like other similar societies, that in Manitoba was thin-skinned, sensitive, on the defensive. F. P. Grove's faithful portrayal of "the slow cramping of the spirit and of the affections that the unending drudgery of farming inflicted on many" was too true to be approved. His unreserved descriptions of "how under the drab routine of the settlers' life human passions ran their powerful and often destructive course" was much too strong for the common taste.

It is to be expected that most readers will take issue with the author from time to time, some on small issues and others on his broader judgments and interpretations; it would be unfortunate if it were otherwise. Like most good books it challenges as it informs—for both the regional and national historian it raises questions on every page. But one thing is certain. With this volume provincial history has come of age, both as a subject of study itself and as a field where a most striking contribution can be made to Canadian history as a whole. There should not have been any doubt before; there can not be any doubt now. This is a first-class book, an exciting book. Canadian historical studies need nothing so much as nine other volumes of the same calibre and scope.

JOHN T. SAYWELL

University of Toronto

Edward Blake Irish Nationalist: A Canadian Statesman in Irish Politics, 1892–1907. By MARGARET A. BANKS. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 370, illus. \$5.50.

THE work that has gone into the making of this book is a good example of the severe labours of the modern historian for whom the chief difficulty lies not in finding enough material but in finding too much. It is easy to envisage from Miss Banks's bibliography the forbidding rows of bound newspapers and the numerous bundles of personal correspondence probably crammed into black japanned boxes, all of which had to be patiently and carefully examined before her book took shape. Presumably she began with the files of Toronto newspapers and with that part of the voluminous Blake collection which deals with his Irish career and which "consists of approximately five thousand letters, memoranda and drafts of speeches, together with ten scrap books." She then followed her hero across the water to Irish libraries to read the Dublin newspapers and the private correspondence of Blake's Irish colleagues: Redmond, O'Brien, and Dillon. In the Dillon papers, the richest of them all, she came upon three hundred of Blake's letters, two-thirds of them unknown to the Blake collection in Toronto. One must conclude that little of value escaped the net of Miss Banks's researches.

Her story is an unusual one and probably little known to Canadians; for that matter it may be that Blake himself is little known to Canadians. In 1892 Edward Blake accepted an invitation to stand for an Irish constituency and enter the British House of Commons as a member of the Irish parliamentary party. It seems that in taking this step he had no intention of severing himself from his political past; but in fact he never returned to Canadian politics,

spending the last fifteen years of his life (1892-1907) as an Irish Nationalist, although crossing the Atlantic frequently on legal as well as political business. Other Canadians have entered British political life: Lord Beaverbrook for one, Bonar Law (born, if not long resident, in Canada) for another. Both men occupied a larger place than Blake, who came to the British House of Commons relatively late in life. A political training in nineteenth-century Ottawa, let alone what may have been a sort of crippling masochism, scarcely equipped him to fill Parnell's shoes—a role which Miss Banks seems to think he might have played. Nonetheless one must agree with her that Blake's services to the Irish parliamentary party were important: he saved it from financial bankruptcy; he acted as its expert on constitutional and financial matters; and he gave valuable and valued advice to his Irish colleagues.

These things Miss Banks tells in a straightforward fashion. It is to be regretted, however, that her style suffers in two respects: first, a minor although irritating one of offering information appropriate to the perverse ritual of doctoral examinations, such as describing Cecil Rhodes as "the internationally known English mining magnate" (p. 243); and second, a major one to which Yeats once pointed in the work of a friend, the lack of a "living voice." The result of the latter deficiency is that Irish politics and politicians, and alas Blake himself, remain shadowy and unreal. It is, however, easier to make this criticism than to explain the behaviour of so enigmatic a man.

DAVID SPRING

The Johns Hopkins University

Essays in Canadian Economic History. By HAROLD A. INNIS. Edited by MARY Q. INNIS. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 418. \$8.50.

THIS volume consists of a selection from what Professor S. D. Clark in the Foreword calls the scattered writings of the late Dean Innis in Canadian economic history and is intended as a companion volume to *The Fur Trade in Canada* and *The Cod Fisheries*. As Professor Clark points out, a scholar seeking to understand Innis's interpretation of Canadian economic history can not stop short of reading the scattered writings. It should be pointed out, however, that the term "scattered" requires some qualification. No fewer than eight of the twenty-eight essays are taken from books by Innis published in his lifetime—one from *Problems of Staple Production in Canada*, six from *Political Economy in the Modern State*, and one from *Changing Concepts of Time*.

As he read these essays, the reviewer became conscious of a great deal of repetition and of a hardening conviction that the longest way round is not always the shortest way home. It is a matter of regret, for example, that Innis did not make more obvious the fact that he had not lost sight of his subject in the middle reaches of the long essay "Liquidity Preference as a Factor in Industrial Development." But it is because of these features, not in spite of them, that the desirability arises of making the whole *corpus* of Innis's writings readily available. The repetition is never mere repetition. As the years go by, we find Innis handling with increasing confidence and dexterity the many complex dynamic relations he himself discovered. The cryptic state-

ment, the elliptical argument, the elusive connection between juxtaposed facts, have always been major stumbling blocks to an understanding of Innis. But with Innis the price of understanding is perseverance. As the themes recur many of the gaps are filled, the meaning often clarified.

It is not an accident (to use a phrase that recurs in these essays) that Professor Innis, who began by appreciating the rôle of transportation and its implications for government control in Canadian history, should in the final phases of his development as a thinker be absorbed with the problems of the control of time and space and of finding in communications the dynamic of change. In 1929 he took the fact that Veblen had begun to popularize his work as a sign that Veblen's work was practically complete. Unlike Veblen, Innis did not live to complete his work but he did complete that portion of it with which these essays are concerned—that of providing Canadian history with a firm economic backbone. He did not get around to popularizing even this completed portion, and it is doubtful whether he would have succeeded if he had tried. "Pitching low" was his phrase for it and he never was very good at it. But there are essays in this volume which show how well and tellingly he could write, even how sprightly he could be. In one of them, "Economic Trends in Canadian-American Relations," an address given at the University of Maine in 1938 (which does not seem to have been previously published), he dealt with "The Siamese twin relationship between Canada and the United States—a very small twin and a very large one, to be exact." This is the kind of thing he was more frequently doing before his voice became silent too soon.

J. H. AITCHISON

Dalhousie University

Studia Varia: Royal Society of Canada, Literary and Scientific Papers. Edited by E. G. D. MURRAY, F.R.S.C. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 127. \$4.00.

THE purpose of this volume is to give a wider currency to a number of papers on generalized topics than would be possible through publication in the annual *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada. The hope is expressed that they will have a stimulating effect on the thought of this country and that they will "stir scholars to write more freely." As the format of the volume is attractive, and as the quality of the eleven articles contained in it is generally high, there seems to be no reason why this aim should not be achieved. Nine of them were presented to the annual meeting in Montreal in 1956, and two were especially written by invitation of the editor. Professor Desmond Pacey gives an admirable account of the three waves of literary activity which he discerns in the development of English-speaking Canada since Confederation. Professor Northrop Frye, in a piquant and penetrating "Preface to an Un-collected Anthology" of English-Canadian verse, finds Pratt's "The Truant" to be "the greatest poem in Canadian literature." He regards the rejection of the American Revolution as "the central fact of Canadian history," and identifies the central comic and tragic themes of Canadian life as reflected in Canadian poetry. His flashes of insight along the way will delight and inform the reader. Professor Bladen, in his essay on the classical literature of political economy,

corrects the false perspective in which Adam Smith and his successors are commonly seen, discovering deeper meanings than are often felt to be implicit in the liberal democratic tradition. Messrs. Daviault, Dansereau, Alexander, and Falardeau contribute thoughtful papers on language and communication in their broader cultural aspects. The reader will note the dangers to scholarship, and even to civilization, in the "low level of language skill" pointed out by Professor Dansereau. The vitality of current philosophical studies is attested by Professor Goudge's paper on "Progress and Evolution" and Dr. James S. Thomson's on "The Existential Philosophy." In treating of the influence of the forest on the northern Indians, Dr. Rousseau, director of the newly created Canadian Museum of Human History, poses the perennial but nonetheless pertinent question, "Faut-il donner la première place au milieu ou à la tradition?" Included also in the volume is Professor W. H. Watson's presidential address to Section III, "Perspectives towards the Future in Physics." The volume as a whole should raise the hopes of all those who are concerned with the present achievement and future prospects of Canadian scholarship.

ALFRED G. BAILEY

University of New Brunswick

Sixteenth-Century Maps Relating to Canada: A Check-List and Bibliography.
Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 283, maps. \$2.50.

THIS work, one of the most ambitious projects of the Public Archives of Canada, is an attempt to describe all maps concerning the obscure era of discovery, from the Vikings to Champlain. Most historians seem reluctant to deal with this period, and usually confine themselves to prudent generalizations. This guide will encourage more intensive research.

An Introduction, written by T. E. Layng, head of the Map Division, traces briefly the evolution of Canadian cartography. The main body of the book contains a detailed list of some 830 maps, citing the sources and the best reproductions of each one. An extensive bibliography and a general index complete the work. The check-list provides a useful research aid for professors and students who wish to use a cartographical approach to the history of discoveries. We must not forget that the old portulans contain a good half of our knowledge of that period. Excellent works, like Williamson's on the Cabots, lose part of their value for having neglected such documents.

Some specialists will probably find a few omissions, incomplete data, or errors of interpretation. The scope and difficulty of the subject render such blemishes nearly unavoidable. A more serious defect results from the method used by the compiler. It is quite evident that an extensive part of the book was written mostly from printed sources. Many maps have not been seen, and are described only second hand. As a result certain pages appear to be a mosaic of quotations and references, and thus the authority of the work is reduced. Nothing indeed can replace the direct study of originals.

Since the maps themselves are scattered in numerous libraries, in Europe and America, their listing and description *de visu* would require much time and travelling. A means to overcome this difficulty would have been an international enquiry, the method used for example by the *Union géographique internationale* to compile its catalogue of maps of the fifteenth century. Mr. Layng received

very useful co-operation from librarians in the United States and England. But his information concerning such an important collection as that of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) is decidedly incomplete. One also wonders why Canadian collections, like those of Ganong and Prowse in the New Brunswick Museum, have not been consulted.

A complete and definitive catalogue of all the sixteenth-century maps would require ten years, if not a whole lifetime devoted to that subject. The present work was compiled in a relatively short time, and constitutes only a first step in building a permanent collection of maps and related information concerning the discovery of Canada. Considering this, it is a worthy achievement.

We already had a few Canadian authorities on cartography, among whom were H. P. Biggar and W. F. Ganong. But the unusual theories sustained recently by some amateur cartographers, who treat history in the manner of a hobby, make one regret the lack of real professionals in the field of Canadian cartography. The Public Archives of Canada have made a very useful step in that direction. This catalogue should induce students to embark on this difficult but highly rewarding study.

RENÉ BAUDRY

Ottawa

Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement.

By WILLIAM PETERSEN. University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions, 2. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. 273. \$3.50.

PROFESSOR Petersen says of his book, "In this work . . . an attempt is made to present for each of the two countries that part of its social history relevant to an analysis of migration policy in terms of the social milieu in which it operates." In this he succeeds brilliantly, as far as this reader can judge. Holland appears to suffer from population pressure owing to high birth rates, low mortality, and a relative lack of economic opportunity, particularly since the dissolution of the Dutch Empire in the East Indies. To solve this problem the Dutch government has attempted to increase industrialization and to encourage emigration. These solutions are much preferred to birth control which is unacceptable in terms of the religious and family traditions of the Netherlands. However, Petersen maintains, neither industrialization nor emigration is on a sufficient scale to meet the problem, and they can only be regarded as devices for avoiding the real issue, which is birth control. Because of a dominant "Catholic ethic," industrialization is fostered only half-heartedly for fear of its social consequences. The amount of emigration is too small and at the mercy of the receiving countries' policies.

In Canada, immigration policy is seen as the result of conflicting pressures on government from French and English Canadians, railroad companies, employers, farmers, and trade unionists. One of the results of conflict of pressure groups has been a preference for agricultural labourers as immigrants, since their admission meets least resistance. However Canada needs less and less manpower in agriculture, and would benefit from larger urban markets. Meanwhile Canada is undergoing a boom in mining, oil, and manufacturing. This strongly suggests that a preference for industrial workers would be a more appropriate policy from the economic point of view.

Each country has paradoxes in its migration policy. If Professor Petersen's thesis ended there it would be safer, but much less challenging, than it is. He extends his argument beyond the case-study of Dutch-Canadian migration and makes it a test for a general theory of the nature of migration policy in the modern world. At this level the author puts forward two main propositions with both of which this reader disagrees.

The first is that we are now in an age of neo-mercantilist, planned migration. Migration, no longer at the discretion of the individual, is the result of governmental arrangements. As he puts it, "The 'natural' right of the passportless person to move about has been supplanted by the 'natural' right of the state to control that movement." This may have been true, but surely it is so no longer. Can a nation in the western democratic world act on the assumption of its complete sovereignty with respect to immigration policy, ignoring the claims made on it by the world community? I have argued elsewhere that it cannot.

Professor Petersen's second general proposition is that immigration is essentially irrational. Officials and politicians are buffeted by social pressures and prejudices. They make decisions according to these pressures, then rationalize their action by inventing scientific phrases such as absorptive capacity and planned migration. This, Petersen insists, robs migration policy of any rational character. But why? Is it not perfectly rational for a politician in a democratic country to make a precise calculation of what the public will accept? To say that this is irrational implies that there is some other sort of migration policy which is rational and which differs from the policy emerging from such democratic political pragmatism. But who is to say what is a rational migration policy for a democratic country, other than the politicians? The social scientists? The experts?

Incidentally, it is worth considering whether politicians, and more particularly officials, are as much the pawns of social and political pressures as has been suggested by Professor Petersen. Legally, in Canada, they have left themselves wide room to manoeuvre, in the broad delegations of power contained in the Immigration Act. Do they use this delegated authority merely to rubber stamp the dictates of public opinion, or do they give play to prejudices, preferences, and enthusiasms of their own? The impact of men like Walker in the United States, Sifton in Canada, and Calwell in Australia suggests that immigration policy may be steered into new directions by a forceful individual, even though long-standing social forces tend to set outer limits to his influence. We need further study of the formation and execution of immigration policy, giving attention not only to the relevant social institutions and forces, but also to the rôle of the political innovator.

DAVID CORBETT

Australian National University

The Turn of the Tide, 1939-1943: A Study Based on the Diaries and Autobiographical Notes of Field Marshal the Viscount Alanbrooke, K.G., O.M.
By ARTHUR BRYANT. London and Toronto: Collins. 1957. Pp. 766, illus.
\$6.00.

SIR ARTHUR BRYANT has been fortunate in his diarists, and, in moving from the baroque to the contemporary, from the Admiralty to the War Office, he

has made an indispensable addition to the history and thought of our times. The private war diaries and subsequent autobiographical notes of the officer who commanded the British Second Corps in the campaign that ended at Dunkirk, and who was later appointed Chief of the Imperial General Staff by Churchill, are a source of illumination on the strategic direction of the Second World War and the personalities involved in it, especially Churchill.

A weighty part of the evidence about the affairs of the Grand Alliance from the Anglo-American point of view has already been published, on the British side by Churchill and Admiral Cunningham, on the American by Harry Hopkins, Admirals King and Leahy, General Arnold, and Eisenhower, as well as in the official histories. The range of the present contribution is limited, however, to the period 1939-43. It reaches only from the Maginot Line, or rather its improvised extension northward where the British Expeditionary Force lay between the French First and Seventh Armies, to the "Quadrant" Conference at Quebec, where the British and the Americans composed their differences over the strategy that was finally to dispose of the Axis. A further volume, therefore, may be expected. Nor are the diaries wholly reproduced. *Pepys in extenso* was all very well after some two hundred years when there was nobody left to smart and fume. But the passages quoted are apposite, pungent, and continuous enough for the soldier's experience and opinions to come powerfully through, and for a strong personality and brilliant professional mind to emerge from the reticence that usually effaces a Chief of Staff. The historian's part in this collaboration has been to place "the jewel" of Alanbrooke's own records in a setting of commentary and relation, and to make due allowance for the conditions in which so many of the original entries were made—when the diarist had been tried to the core by over-work and anxiety. Our indebtedness to him for maintaining the record is by so much the greater.

There are too many important things in the book for justice to be done to it in so brief an appraisal. In the main it is an argument on the theme of implementing the agreed allied priority of defeating Germany before Japan. It is a study of an attempt to control a volatile, resilient, diversionary, and tireless Prime Minister by the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staffs Committee, who insisted throughout on that principle of war which relates to the concentration of force. Inter-Service relationships, both on the British and American sides, those between Service Chiefs and their political superiors, and, above all, the adjustments necessary to bring the two great Western Allies into working accord, as at Casablanca, Washington, and Quebec, are materials for the textbooks of statesmanship. The immediacy of incident, the urgency and magnitude of the issues, the liveliness of Alanbrooke's observation, his fine and sensitive intelligence, the manifold, exasperating genius of Churchill, and the discussion that is ready to break out when the last page of this lengthy book has been read, these are qualities which will leave many a reader, lay and professional, ready for the second volume. This one is disappointing, however, for the researcher into Canadian affairs. A long "harangue" from General Crerar on the political necessity for getting Canadian troops into operations before the war came to an end, and a visit from Ralston, lasting two hours, but edited down to the bare statement, are about all that we are vouchsafed. But Colonel Stacey will doubtless have taken transcripts of his own.

ERIC HARRISON

Gaslight and Shadow: The World of Napoleon III, 1851-1870. By ROGER L. WILLIAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: Brett-Macmillan Ltd.]. 1957. Pp. xiv, 321. \$5.50.

ONE day some bright young undergraduate will write a clever essay on the treatment of Napoleon III by English-speaking historians. It could be worth while; it might be instructive; it ought to be entertaining. The French may feel somewhat jaundiced about the second of the Bonapartes—the imperial precedent was so stunningly successful (not least, in retrospect), the Second Empire so sickeningly a failure, and the Republican sequels often so lamentably distraught. But the British and Americans, personally remote, unaffected by the attendant disasters (although they tend eventually to become emotionally committed), have occasionally been more charitable. Not everyone has imagined himself another Lytton Strachey. The spell of Philip Guedalla, of course, still pervades the easy classroom performances of college professors because students continue to laugh (if only from sheer relief), but no one seriously dismisses the Second Empire as nothing but a bad Victorian joke. If the most brilliant writing on the subject has been at the epigrammatic level, it has not necessarily been the best. J. M. Thompson showed not so long ago that one could be both clever and serious. And at the very least, the Empire makes a good story. Western historians will always be drawn to this tragic little episode in the history of France.

Mr. Williams, for his part, has had the idea of approaching Napoleon III indirectly, creating what he calls "a mosaic," "ten vignettes chosen to portray the many facets of the Second Empire," in order to conjure up once more "the world of Napoleon III." With his choice of characters one can have no quarrel: Persigny, Morny, Montalembert, and Ollivier certainly belong here. Pasteur and Sainte-Beuve are more than concessions to the New History. The Countess of Castiglione adequately suggests the requisite boudoir delights of the era, Offenbach the tinsel glitter, and Courbet (but what, some little Alice might ask, is the use of Courbet without a few reproductions?) its artistic struggles and successes. In one way or another, all these people do something to light up the reign of Napoleon III. Yet the essay form is demanding, and nothing more demanding than a book of biographical essays relating to a single theme. If they are to avoid being repetitious in structure and too independent in mood, they will have to come from a very skillful pen. The present book, obviously designed for the fairly popular trade (despite its excellent brief critical bibliographies), is pleasant enough. But although it has its moments of gaiety and wit, it lacks the deceptive charm and pace which the theme calls for. To be fair, Mr. Williams has attempted something awfully difficult. Now and then he turns a clever phrase; quite often he sustains the light mood his book repeatedly demands. But much of the time he is more informative than exciting, and sometimes more energetic than successful. As one proceeds rather implacably from birth to death ten times over, one grows a little weary of this world which certainly contains Napoleon III, but equally certainly is not *his*. Judged by the severe standards of the more celebrated historical essayists, these studies seem a great deal less compelling than a more critical eye and a more sparing style could have made them. And to have ended with so familiar and inadequate an epigram seems not only a pity but a mistake.

JOHN C. CAIRNS

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SHORTER NOTICES

Daylight Through the Mountain: Letters and Labours of Civil Engineers Walter and Francis Shanly. Edited by F. N. WALKER, assisted by G. C. WALKER. Toronto: The Engineering Institute of Canada, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Canada Ltd. 1957. Pp. xiv, 442, illus. \$6.00.

HERE is an ample selection of the letters of Walter and Francis Shanly, two of the most outstanding of those engineers who carried through the railway revolution in mid-nineteenth-century Canada. The brothers Shanly worked together on such major railway projects as the Toronto, Guelph, and Sarnia portion of the Grand Trunk, a notably well-engineered section of that line, and the tunnel under Hoosac Mountain in northern Massachusetts, the longest tunnel east of the Mississippi. Incidentally, Walter Shanly's prediction that "we can let daylight through the mountain in four years," accounts for the title of the book. Aside from their joint endeavours, Walter Shanly himself was responsible for the construction of the Bytown and Prescott and a whole network of railways in the Upper St. Lawrence-Ottawa Valley region, and in 1858 became general manager of the Grand Trunk. Francis, for his part, completed the Welland Railway, rebuilt the Northern, and surveyed and laid more miles of track than any other engineer in contemporary Canada. Furthermore, the Shanlys also concerned themselves with canals, water-works, the adjudication of disputes between railway companies, and periods of service in Parliament.

The letters vividly record the wide range of their activities, and no less depict the lively character of their authors. The bulk of material is drawn from the papers of Francis Shanly at the Ontario Archives, but Dr. Walker, in his capacity as editor, and Mrs. Walker, who carried out research, have added more from other, often scattered sources in order to fill out episodes dealt with in the main body of correspondence. In general, they are to be congratulated on an admirable work of compilation, diligently footnoted and effectively illustrated. It makes readily available a mass of useful information on the problems, methods and achievements of the pioneer railway builders—in which regard, that section of correspondence relating to the building of the Toronto and Guelph is perhaps the most significant for the Canadian historian.

J. M. S. CARELESS

University of Toronto

Noranda. By LESLIE ROBERTS. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited. 1956. Pp. xiv, 223. \$5.00.

THIS generously-illustrated history of Noranda Mines, Limited, a thirty-five-year old giant of the Canadian mining industry, stresses two of the firm's manifold activities—the placing in production and operation of gold and copper mines at Noranda and Murdochville. Varying amounts of space are devoted to discussions of the communities spawned by the mines and to other company enterprises—mines in Nicaragua, investments in other mining companies, exploration of mineralized sectors of the Canadian north, recovery of by-product sulphur and iron from its ores, custom refining of copper, and the manufacture of finished copper and brass products. The book—true to the tradition of company histories but offering more confirmatory illustration than most—eulogizes the vision and perseverance of the company executives, their

foresightedness in adjusting to altered mining and market conditions, the efficiency of their mining operations and community plans, and their patriotism during the war emergency and throughout the years in striving to develop Canada's natural resources to the fullest. Historians are not prophets and it is scarcely just to criticize the author's idyllic view merely because in boom 1954 or 1955 he failed to foresee the more sombre picture of 1957. Nevertheless, recent events do underscore his failure to give his readers fuller knowledge of labour-management problems and (seeing that both mines are in Quebec province), of French-English relationships. For example, "a year of serious labour unrest and strife, accompanied by a lengthy strike and shutdown at Noranda" in 1947 is dismissed in just so many words.

Despite a tendency to view his subject almost exclusively from the managerial standpoint, it must be acknowledged that the author, a longtime observer of the Canadian mining scene, has written a competent, factual, useful book, and has set a creditable standard for future histories of the Canadian mining industry.

MORRIS ZASLOW

University of Toronto

Canada's Arctic Outlet: A History of the Hudson Bay Railway. By HOWARD A. FLEMING. University of California Publications in History, vol. 54. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. x, 129, map. \$2.50, paper, \$3.50, cloth.

THIS slender volume, the end-product of a doctoral dissertation completed in 1952, follows the inception, construction, and operation of the Hudson Bay Railway from the 1870's to around the year 1950. Of necessity it is also concerned with two generations of federal and western provincial politics, for the progress of the line depended upon governmental assistance, and its success accurately reflected the strength of the political pressures that could be mustered on its behalf. Indeed, the final round of construction came about as one of the numerous concessions made by a hard-pressed Mackenzie King in 1925-6.

Besides published materials, the book has utilized the Macdonald and Laurier Papers and the extremely valuable records of the former Department of Railways and Canals. But there is a disquieting neglect of other sources. Inasmuch as western needs and western public opinion played so great a role in bringing the line into being, it seems curious that no western newspaper nor even the *Canadian Annual Review* appear to have been consulted. Reference to these sources might have modified tendencies to view the prairies as a unit on the railway question and to exaggerate the over-all significance of the project as a political force. One need not rely so wholeheartedly as did the author upon the Hudson Bay Railway in order to explain the Liberal victories in the first Alberta and Saskatchewan provincial elections (p. 57-8). The single page of small-scale maps is inadequate to illustrate the controversies over various routes and the harbours of Nelson and Churchill.

In sum this volume is a brief but nevertheless valuable record of the projection, construction, and operation of one of Canada's northern railways. Students of Canadian history can also benefit from its examination of an important aspect of western and national politics.

MORRIS ZASLOW

University of Toronto

American Goods in Canadian Markets. By FORREST L. ROGERS. Under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Contemporary Affairs, no. 26. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1957. Pp. ii, 37. \$1.25.

In this pamphlet Mr. Rogers presents a concise analysis of the American relationship to the Canadian economy. Although the specific theme is Canadian imports from the United States, the author stresses the fact that Canada's historic dependence upon foreign markets is now so modified as to be nearly a dependence upon American markets, both import and export. Although Mr. Rogers touches upon the shifting positions of United Kingdom, European, and other Commonwealth markets, this seems only to underline the almost overwhelming, and still increasing, dominance of the United States.

The analysis is factual, making use of ten statistical tables, and shunning radical policy suggestions. A warning against further tariff protection leads on to the conclusion that "the brightest prospects for satisfactory adjustment between the United States and overseas sources of imports and between imports and domestic goods undoubtedly lie in a world in which production and incomes continue to expand, as they have in the past few years."

This is a very useful and lucid pamphlet—particularly, perhaps, for those who have arrived at a more political conclusion than that reached by Mr. Rogers.

KENNETH MCNAUGHT

United College

Studies in Enterprise: A Selected Bibliography of American and Canadian Company Histories and Biographies of Businessmen. Compiled by LORNA M. DANIELLS. Boston: Harvard University, Baker Library. 1957. Pp. xiv, 169. \$4.50.

CANADIANS might well regard Harvard's expanding interest in business history as another sign of cultural imperialism. To do so, however, would be to push our defensive nationalism to the point of absurdity. Already its interest has resulted in Professor Aitken's valuable history of the Welland Canal Company. And there is no reason to doubt that other volumes on Canadian subjects will follow. This short bibliography proves beyond doubt that the study of entrepreneurial history is to be continental rather than exclusively national. Six pages are given exclusively to Canada. The entries are arranged by subject: mining and manufacturing, transportation, public utilities, distribution, finance and insurance. The list is not exhaustive, but there are titles that this reviewer has seen for the first time. The entries include theses and company histories as well as published monographs.

JOHN T. SAYWELL

University of Toronto

Un Siècle de labeur, de foi, d'honneur: histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Octave-de-Métis, 1855-1955. By ROLAND LEBEL. St-Octave-de-Métis, P.Q. 1955. Pp. 519, illus. \$3.00.

This parish history derives some of its importance from the fact that it not only tells the story of the parish of St. Octave, which was founded in 1855, but that it tells also much of the history of the seigniory of Metis, which lies between

it and the St. Lawrence, and was settled by English speaking families as early as 1818. The chapter by Judge Gagnon entitled "Métis, Terre de Feodalité" makes it clear that, when the seigniory was originally granted by Frontenac in 1676 to one of the members of his Council, the south shore of the St. Lawrence was so little known that the grant was intended to be of land at Rimouski, thirty miles to the west, and not at the mouth of the Metis River. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the name Metis is spelt throughout the book with an acute accent over the letter "e," through some sort of strange confusion with the word *métis*, signifying a half-breed. Actually, the original form of the name was "Mitis."

The province of Quebec has produced many admirable local histories, but not very many more commendable than this.

W. S. WALLACE

Toronto

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
BY CONSTANCE PATTULLO

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also *Canadiana*, a monthly list of Canadian publications prepared by the National Library, Ottawa, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," published in the July issue.

Sections of the bibliography omitted from this issue for reasons of space will be included in later issues.

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

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McINNIS, EDGAR. New Additions Are Changing Basic Commonwealth Structure (*Canadian Business*, XXX (9), Sept., 1957, 90-2).

MACKIRDY, K. A. The Federalization of the Australian Cabinet, 1901-39 (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XXIII (2), May, 1957, 216-26). A comparison of Australian and Canadian experience.

MEHLING, JEAN. Le Sous-développement, le plan de Colombo, et la contribution canadienne (*L'Actualité économique*, XXXII (4), janv.-mars, 1957, 604-31).

RAO, V. K. R. V. India's Attitude to Commonwealth (*Caravan of India*, VIII (8), Aug., 1957, 3-6). An Indian reaction to Professor Underhill's lectures on "The British Commonwealth."

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II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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- KENT, TOM. The Changing Place of Canada (*Foreign Affairs*, XXXV (4), July, 1957, 581-92). The author sees Canada's rôle as paradoxical: while she cannot have a foreign policy essentially different from that of the United States, yet this very fact is the basis of her special influence in the Atlantic community.
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(4) British North America before 1867

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- WRIGHT, ESTHER CLARK. *Blomidon Rose*. Illustrated by HELEN D. BEALS. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 206, illus. \$4.00. An anecdotal and historical description of this region of Nova Scotia.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

GUIDE TO PHOTOGRAPHED HISTORICAL MATERIALS

The American Historical Association has received a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., to prepare a "Guide to Photographed Historical Materials" in the United States and Canada. The Canadian Historical Association is co-operating in the project. The American Historical Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction will supervise the work, which will be directed by Professor Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University. Preparation of the Guide will take about two years, and publication will follow.

Those who wish to make suggestions or obtain further information should write to Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University, Copley Square Campus, 84 Exeter Street, Room 401, Boston 15, Mass.

PERSONAL ITEMS

Mr. Hereward Senior has been appointed Assistant Professor of History at Memorial University, Newfoundland.

Mr. J. R. MacCormack has been appointed to the History Department of St. Mary's University, Halifax.

At the Royal Military College, Dr. F. F. Thompson has been promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor. Dr. G. F. G. Stanley was awarded the Tyrell Medal at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Canada.

At the University of Toronto R. H. Macdonald has been appointed Assistant Professor, and Dr. H. C. Porter and Dr. P. Brock, Lecturers. Dr. John T. Saywell was promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor. He was earlier awarded the Delancey K. Jay Prize by Harvard University for his study of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor. Professor John C. Cairns was awarded the first Higby Prize, awarded by the American Historical Association, for the best article appearing in the *Journal of Modern History* in 1955 and 1956. The prize-winning article was entitled "Great Britain and the Fall of France: A Study in Allied Disunity." (*Journal of Modern History*, XXVII (4), December, 1955). Professor B. Wilkinson is on leave of absence for the session 1957-8. He was awarded a grant by the American Social Science Research Council, and will work in London. Professor D. G. Creighton received an Hon. D. Litt. from the University of Manitoba and an Hon. LL.D. from the University of Saskatchewan. He was also awarded the University of Alberta's National Award in Letters at the Banff School of Fine Arts.

Mr. J. M. McEwen has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Manitoba. Dr. W. J. Eccles has left the University of Manitoba on his appointment to the Department of History, University of Alberta.

Dr. Margaret Ormsby is on leave from the University of British Columbia for the session 1957-8 and is engaged in writing the centennial history of the province. Dr. D. M. L. Farr has been appointed Special Lecturer. Dr. H. Blair Neatby and Dr. J. M. Norris have been promoted to the rank of Assistant

Professor. Professor Neatby and Professor J. T. Saywell (of the University of Toronto) were awarded the University of Western Ontario President's Medal for the article "Chapleau and the Conservative Party in Quebec" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVII (1), March, 1956), judged by the Governor General's Awards Committee as the best scholarly article published in Canada in 1956. Dr. John S. Conway has been appointed Instructor in History and International Studies.

CORRESPONDENCE: CANADA IN CHURCHILL'S *The New World*

The editors have received the following letter from Mr. Thomas Dunbabin, Ottawa:

"History, so the Minister of Education has announced, is to return to those Ontario schools where it has for fifteen years been subsumed under Social Studies. This decision would have displeased Sir Robert Walpole, who once wrote of subjects to be taught: 'Anything but history, for history must be false.' This is much too sweeping an assertion. Yet some historians still play strange pranks with historical accuracy, and they have less excuse than in Walpole's day, since the raw material for history is much easier of access.

Sir Winston Churchill has little to say of Canada in *The New World*, the second volume of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. And that little is wrong.

1. Of England's first known contact with Canada he writes (p. 12): "Henry Tudor appreciated private enterprise if it did not involve him in disputes with Spain. He financed an expedition by John Cabot, who was a Genoese like Columbus and lived in Bristol. In 1497 Cabot struck land near Cape Breton Island. But there was little prospect of trade and an immense forbidding continent seemed to block further advance. On a second voyage Cabot sailed along the coast in the direction of Florida but that was too near the region of Spanish efforts. Upon Cabot's death the cautious Henry abandoned his Atlantic enterprise." If Henry VII, that is, the State, had really financed the first Cabot voyage it was not private enterprise. It does not appear that Henry did anything of the kind. He granted Cabot and his sons a Charter, which cost him nothing. When Cabot returned, Henry did give him £10. The phrase "another Genoese like Columbus" was used by the Spanish envoy, Pedro de Ayala. There seems to be no real evidence that Cabot was a Genoese. Cabot's landfall is still in dispute; Sir Winston's map appears to assign it to Newfoundland. Cabot's voyage of 1497 did not reveal any "immense forbidding continent." It revealed, according to *Sixteenth-Century Maps Relating to Canada*, (Ottawa, 1956) xiii, xiv (see review p. 330), a stretch of east-west coast. This might well promise a way to Asia. Of the voyage of 1498 little is known but it can hardly have revealed an immense continent. Nor did Henry abandon his Atlantic enterprises on the death of Cabot if, as supposed, John Cabot died during or soon after the voyage of 1498. The king supported voyages from Bristol for at least four years after 1498.

2. On page 122 he states that Frobisher sailed with two small ships of twenty-five tons in search of gold, that he "charted the bleak coasts round Hudson Straits" and that high hopes were entertained of getting gold from samples of black ore that he brought back. In 1576 Frobisher was seeking the

Northwest Passage, not gold. A piece of black stone was brought back as a souvenir. The idea that it contained gold came later. Frobisher made two more voyages. In 1578 he took fifteen ships and loaded thirteen hundred tons of supposedly gold-bearing ore. He did run, by mistake, into Hudson Straits but got out as soon as he could. (Hakluyt, 1903 ed., VIII, 204-466.)

Of Gilbert, Sir Winston says in this same passage that on the strength of his 1578 Charter from the Queen he made several hopeful voyages but none with success "with eleven small ships manned by many gentlemen adventurers, including his step-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom more hereafter." Gilbert collected eleven vessels at Dartmouth in 1578 but, after a long delay, only seven actually sailed. It was not a hopeful voyage and there do not seem to have been any more until Gilbert sailed in 1583 on his last voyage. (Hakluyt, VIII, 39-40, and *Dictionary of National Biography*, note on Gilbert.)

3. Frobisher appears again on page 164, where he and others are reported to have "penetrated deeply into the Arctic recesses of Canada in search of a Northwest Passage to Asia." Frobisher did not go very far into the Arctic recesses, nor in fact, north of the Arctic Circle.

4. On page 175 Sir Winston writes: "For the French were reaching out from their earlier bases in Canada, having ousted an adventurous band of Scots who had been ensconced for a time on the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence. By 1630 the river was entirely in French hands." In 1630 the St. Lawrence was in the hands of the English; Sir David Kirke and his brothers had taken Quebec. Scots had founded little colonies on the Nova Scotia side of the Bay of Fundy and on the east side of Cape Breton between 1620 and 1630, but they did not "ensconce themselves on the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence." An attempt had been made in 1597 to found an English and Puritan colony on the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A Puritan colony a decade before Champlain settled at Quebec is one the most notable "might have beens" of Canadian history.

5. On page 380, Sir Winston writes: "The Hudson Bay Company, launched in 1669, had set up its first trading post and was building up its influence in the Northern Territories of Canada." The name should be Hudson's Bay Company. It was not launched in 1669. The Prince Rupert syndicate, out of which the Company grew, sent out its first expedition to the Bay in 1668. (Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, (Toronto, 1936), 25-9.) The Company's Charter was granted on May 2, 1670. The Company had set up five posts by 1688. But it had lost them to the French. In 1688 it had only York Factory and the Severn Factory. The Company's influence in the northern territories of Canada was at a low ebb in 1688.

While we read we make history, observed G. W. Curtis (1824-92). For "read" you may in many cases use "write."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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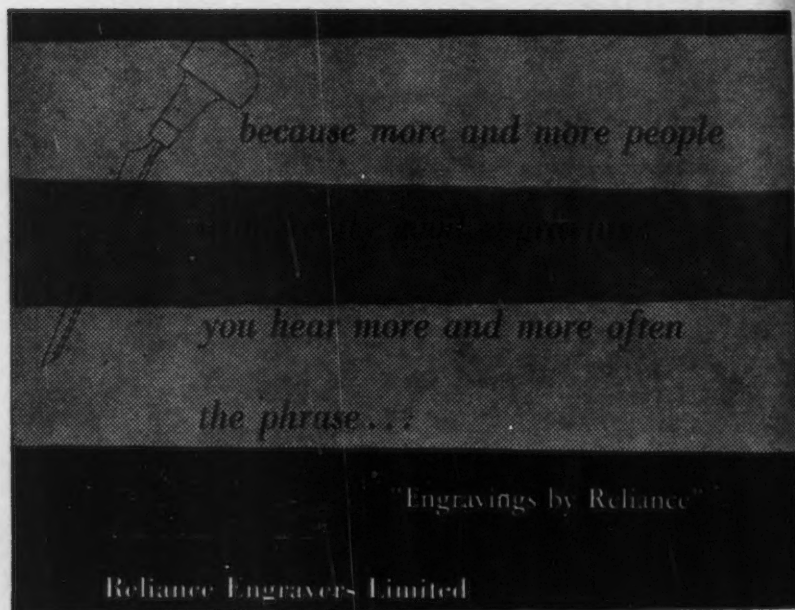
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